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THE CHANGING AIMS AND FUNCTIONS OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION, 1842-1962

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a dissertation entitled "The Changing Aims and Functions of Nigerian Education, 1842-1962" submitted by Joseph Eyitayo Adetoro in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.





## ABSTRACT

The existing educational system in Nigeria owes its origin to missionary enterprise during the nineteenth century. For the missions, however, education was ancillary to evangelization. The prime objective was the salvation of the soul. Education was used as an instrument of communication and conversion. Its scope and quality were therefore limited to the immediate requirements of the primary objective.

Many functions were performed in the process of the prosecution of missionary aims. There were manifest functions in the forms of increasing numbers of professed adherents to the various denominations, as well as growth in the ranks of ordained ministers, church workers and agents. Latent functions were performed as well because the schools attracted young people whose main interests were not religious. For such people (and they were in the majority) the instruction offered in the schools provided a way of escape from the restraints of tribal life and the hardships and insecurity of peasant farming.

Northern Nigeria had a late start in western education partly because of greater distance from the coast and partly due to the existence of a vast network of informal classes that gave instruction in the Koran and the Islamic way of life. The Government also adopted a policy which at first discouraged and restricted the influence and activities of the missionary societies in Northern Nigeria. On the whole the Government's contribution to Nigerian education before 1912 was a minor one.

The period between 1912 and 1940 was one of increased Government participation in education and of an attempt to control its development.



The attempt at control failed in the South because of the inadequacy of supervisory and inspecting staff and also because of the increasing demand for educated personnel in the Government and commercial services. The Government's inability to handle educational problems, particularly during the Depression, encouraged the formation of protest movements and the mass exodus of the best people from the teaching profession. This in turn led to a fall in educational standards.

The Second World War revealed gross inadequacies in the educational system and two Ten Year Plans were drawn up to improve the situation. Meanwhile, post-war developments along the political fronts called for radical changes in educational policies and practices. The introduction of regional units in the political structure gave an unprecedented boost to educational developments. These developments had attendant evils which were manifested in falling educational standards, a large increase in the number of the semi-literate and unemployable, and a further lowering of the prestige of the teacher.

Between 1959 and 1961, a number of commissions were appointed to investigate various aspects of Nigerian education. The recommendations were indeed breath-taking but their successful operation will depend on the institution of radical changes not only in the aims, content and methods of education but also on the establishment of a balance between the various kinds and levels of education. Above all, Nigeria's educational future depends to a large extent on a complete reorganization of the teaching profession which must seek recognition and accord as the spring-source of all trained and effective personnel.





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In undertaking this study, I am greatly indebted to a number of individuals and officials who have either helped directly with ideas and suggestions or else have made available their time and the research facilities at their disposal.

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While I was on a research trip to England, I received assistance from many sources. Dr. P. Platt, Librarian of the University of Birmingham, Institute of Education and his assistants, were responsible for the handling of several scores of books and documents which I



received through the Inter-Library Loan Service. In addition, Mrs. Leonard of the Selly Oak Colleges Library, Birmingham; the Director of the British Museum, London; the Librarian of the University of London Institute of Education and Mr. A. D. Holland of the British Museum Newspaper Library, have all extended to me much appreciated courtesies.

Finally, I would like to place on record, the relevant contributions made by my wife, Francisca Bamidele Adetoro. As a student of Librarianship, she has been responsible for checking up on sources, filling up gaps and bringing to my notice bibliographical sources. But for her sacrifice, help and encouragement, this undertaking might never have emerged from the realms of contemplation.



## INTRODUCTION

### Aims and Scope of Dissertation

The aims of this dissertation are, (a) to examine the changes which have taken place in the aims and functions of Nigerian education during the period from 1842 to 1962, (b) to consider the factors underlying those changes and (c) to evaluate the changes in terms of the problems and possibilities of future educational needs and developments.

This study is based on the assumption that the development of the Nigerian educational system during the period from 1842 to 1962, was due largely to the operation of two external agencies--Christian missionary societies and British colonial rule. It is also assumed that in the course of the operation of those agencies in the field of education, certain functions were performed and that both aims and functions have been subjected to modifications in response to changing needs and conditions in Nigeria.

The study does not purport to examine the merits or otherwise of the original beliefs, attitudes and ideas underlying the operation of the external agencies involved in the development of Nigerian education. Also, it does not undertake to argue the case of the traditional Nigerian systems of education.

### Reasons for Study

The field of Nigerian education is largely an uncharted one. The research work already undertaken consists chiefly of local studies of some educational items and appraisals of the contributions of the





voluntary agencies. Countrywide surveys or studies of one theme over a reasonable length of time have received little attention. This present study of aims and functions is undertaken in the belief that an understanding of the process and pattern of growth of the educational system will offer some guidance on the practical problems and assumptions which must be taken into consideration when determining the pace and direction of future growth.

### Definition of Terms

Certain key terms are used in this study and as they may be understood differently in other contexts or are perhaps peculiar to the Nigerian educational system, they are defined herewith to avoid confusion and misunderstanding. Except where otherwise stated, the definitions given here shall apply wherever the terms are used.

The education with which this study deals is western education--as represented by formal schools, colleges and set curricula. It is necessary to distinguish this type of education from the traditional system of education in Africa. The following statement attempts to make the distinction clear.

Pagan Africa had no schools as we know them, but it had a system of education, which, while for the most part has been strangely ignored by western Educators, is by no means despicable. By formal and informal methods young Africans were trained to take their place in adult community. The accumulated culture of the past was transmitted to them. Technical training produced craftsmen of no mean order. Awareness of the existence of a Creator, respect for elders, reverence for the ancestors, all the elements of a good life, as the Africans understood it, were inculcated. The aim was



to educate the youth to become worthy citizens. As part of education, boys and girls were passed through ceremonies including instruction and discipline, which marked the end of childhood and their integration into the tribe.<sup>1</sup>

By aims are meant the professed goals and objectives. Functions refer to the patterns of behaviour resulting from the operation of aims. It is further understood that functions may be described as manifest or intended. When the functions performed are contrary or not in harmony with the avowed intentions, they are said to be latent.

Frequent references are made to the voluntary agencies in Nigerian education. This is the term used for all non-Government bodies that are involved in the education. These include the missionary societies and other private groups. The Native Administrations (NAs) were the units of local government. A stream when applied to an educational institution means a class of thirty pupils or students. Thus, a single-stream school is one which has only one class in each grade. A double-stream school has two classes of thirty pupils each, at every grade level.

#### Method of Treatment

The method employed in this study is mainly historical. The period covered by the study is divided into four parts. Part One deals with the first seventy years of Nigerian education, 1842-1912,

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<sup>1</sup>Christian Action in Africa. Report of the Church Conference on African Affairs held at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, June 19-25, 1942 (New York: Africa Committee of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1942), p. 37.





and is entitled The Period of Pioneer Missionary Educators. Part Two deals with educational developments from about 1913 to 1940. This is The Period of Increased Government Participation and Control. The developments during and after the Second World War are taken up in Part Three under the general title of Education for Self-Government. This part carries the survey of education to about 1960, the year of Nigerian independence. The fourth part which is called Education for Nationhood, deals with educational policy and planning for the post-independence era. The study is concluded in Part Five under the heading of Review and Preview.

#### Related Literature

To the best of the writer's knowledge, the changes in aims and functions of Nigerian education have not been previously treated in any systematic form. A number of theses on Nigerian education have been consulted and to these the writer owes one significant debt-- that of acting as pointers to bibliographical sources which might otherwise have been overlooked. The writer has relied almost exclusively on such primary sources as the official records and publications of the various missionary societies, the publications and reports of the United Kingdom Government and those of the Regional and Federal Governments of Nigeria. Among the groups of sources found most useful were: Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society; Annual Reports of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society; The Primitive Methodist Missionary Herald; Imperial Education Conference Papers, 1913; The Southern Nigerian Blue Books;



The Northern Nigeria Blue Books; The Lagos Blue Books; The Report on the Amalgamation and Administration of the Southern and Northern Protectorates of Nigeria; Colonial Reports Annual; Annual Reports on the Education Department; Report of the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies; Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa; Sessional Papers of the Nigerian Legislative Council on matters relating to education; Sessional Papers of the Nigerian Regional Governments on matters relating to education.

Belonging to another important source-group are the special Commissions appointed by the Nigerian Governments to report on various aspects of education. Of these, the Ashby Commission Report, the Banjo Commission Report, the Dike Committee Report and the Oldman Commission Report deserve particular mention.

Use has also been made of such periodicals as the Daily Times of Nigeria, the Journal of the African Society, The Nigerian Citizen and West Africa. The educational journals most frequently consulted were the West African Journal of Education, Oversea Education, Times Educational Supplement, The Nigerian Teacher, Universities Quarterly Review, Comparative Education Review and Teacher Education.

#### A Note on Appendices

The reader who is unfamiliar with Nigeria is urged to read Appendix A for general background information. Appendix B also gives information relating to the organization of the educational system in Nigeria at the time the study was made.





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PART ONE

THE PERIOD OF PIONEER MISSIONARY EDUCATORS



## CHAPTER I

### THE MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOUTHERN NIGERIA EDUCATION 1842 - 1912

"When one looks for the root from which West African education sprang, one comes back, everywhere and always to the missionaries."<sup>1</sup> These are the very words of a British Parliamentary Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. This statement, coming as it does, from such a distinguished group of men and women, cannot be ignored. It commands attention and respect. Reactions to it may vary from a ready assent to one of qualified support but it is unlikely to be dismissed summarily as nothing more than an extravagant claim. The object of introducing this statement here, however, is not to bring up a controversial point, but to provide a scale of magnitude against which to survey and assess the missionary contributions to early Nigerian education.

#### The Pre-1842 Missionary Efforts

The year 1842 is generally regarded as marking the beginning of the developments which have culminated in the establishment of the present system of education in Nigeria. It is, however, important to realize that the first efforts to bring Christianity and western education to the country were made long before 1842. In 1485, a Portuguese captain, John Affonso d'Aveiro, visited the Kingdom of Benin. As a result of this visit the Oba (King) of Benin became interested in

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<sup>1</sup>Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, Cmd. 6655, June 1945 (London: H.M.S.O.), p. 16.



opening up his kingdom to Portuguese traders and missionaries. The traders came soon afterwards but the missionaries did not arrive until 1515. There is one known contemporary document relating to direct communications between King Manuel of Portugal and the Oba of Benin. The document is a letter written by one Duarte Pires to the King of Portugal giving account of the Benin kingdom and of the reception which the Oba accorded the missionaries who had been sent there. The letter is dated 20 October, 1516, and part of it reads:

The king gave his son and some of his nobelmen--the greatest in his kingdom--so that they might become Christians; and also he ordered a church to be built in Benjm; and also they made them Christians straight away; and also they are teaching them to read, and your highness will be pleased to know that they are very good learners.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. K. O. Dike also wrote that,

In accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent, a seminary was established on the island of Sao Thome (off the coast of Nigeria) in 1571 to train boys from the diocese which included the coasts of modern Nigeria for the priesthood. Some members of the Itsekiri tribe (in Western Nigeria) were trained in this seminary during the course of the following two centuries. It is also clear that missionaries who visited Warri (the Itsekiri capital) from Sao Thome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries taught many inhabitants of this coastal kingdom to read, so that Portuguese books were in demand there.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Torre de Tombo, livro de registo de leis do Rei D. Manoel. Printed in Barcellos, 1, 84-5. Translated by John William Blake, in Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560. Documents to illustrate the nature and scope of Portuguese enterprise in West Africa, the abortive attempts of Castilians to create an empire there, and the early English voyages to Barbary and Guinea. I, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1942), p. 124.

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth O. Dike, "Development of Modern Education in Nigeria," The One and the Many; the Individual in the Modern World, 2nd Corning Conference, ed. John Nixon Brooks (New York: Harper, 1962), pp. 225-6.





Dr. Dike's statement appears to be supported by Roth who wrote an account of Warri in the seventeenth century:

There is a Church with an altar In Auwerre<sup>4</sup> town; and there is a representative of Lord Christ on the cross with Virgin Mother Mary and the Apostles, and two lights thereby...Outwardly they seem very religious; they can read and write and like Portuguese books; as also their quills, paper and ink, very much indeed.<sup>5</sup>

Another writer, John Adams, made the following note about the people of Calabar as he knew them in 1789:

Many of the natives write English: an art first acquired by some of the traders' sons, who had visited England, and which they have had the sagacity to retain up to the present period. They have established schools and school-masters for the purpose of instructing in this art the youths belonging to families of consequences.<sup>6</sup>

Also in 1841, when the Niger Expedition visited the island of Fernando Po, off the Nigerian coast, Rev. Schon and Samuel Crowther recorded that:

There is a day school at the place, kept by a young man from Cape Coast, who obtains his livelihood by giving instruction. The school is attended by forty or forty-five children of both sexes. It receives as much as six-pence a week for some children; others pay only three-pence or four-pence; and a few receive their instruction gratis.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>This is an old spelling of the modern town of Warri.

<sup>5</sup>Cited by P. A. Talbot, The People of Nigeria, I, (London: Oxford University Press for the Crown Agents, 1926), I, p. 322.

<sup>6</sup>Cited by Talbot, I, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup>Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Schon and Samuel Crowther who, with the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, accompanied the Expedition of the Niger, in 1841, in behalf of the Church Missionary Society (London: Hatchard & Sons, Nisbet & Co., 1842), p. 247.



Interesting as these tid-bits about the early efforts are, no great educational significance can be attached to them. They were isolated and sporadic attempts. They lacked sustenance and their influence was limited and short-lived. No justification has so far been advanced for linking them with the later developments out of which the existing educational system of Nigeria has evolved.

### The Advent of the Protestant Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century

The early Portuguese (Catholic) attempts to plant Christianity on Nigerian soil appeared to have been abandoned long before the middle of the eighteenth century. The Catholic Church did not resume missionary activities in the country until the second half of the last century. Meanwhile as a result of a number of factors such as the successful exploration of the Niger river, the emancipation of the slaves within the British empire, the growing prosperity of industrial England, the search for markets abroad and the efforts of philanthropists, humanitarians and evangelicals, more and more attention was focused on the West African coast and this helped to pave the way for the coming of the first Protestant missionaries.

One name deserves particular mention in connection with these developments. It is that of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. Buxton had long advocated that the answer to Africa's problems lay in the development of her resources and in the Christianising of her peoples. His slogan, "It





is the Bible and the plough that must regenerate Africa,"<sup>8</sup> was heard right across England. In 1839 he wrote a book entitled The Slave Trade and Its Remedy. It was a widely read and influential book and it inspired the formation of a Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilization of Africa. The Society was in turn one of the moving forces behind the British Government Expedition up the river Niger in 1841. The object of the Expedition was to conclude treaties with the native rulers and to explore the possibilities of agricultural and commercial development. The Expedition was a dismal failure but the interest which it generated in the Niger area was strong enough to convince the various church missionary societies in Britain that there was urgent need for evangelical work in that part of Africa.

#### The Wesleyan Methodists and Nigeria's First School

The first Protestant Mission to arrive in Nigeria was sent out by the Wesleyan Methodists. The first party landed at Badagry in September 1842. The first regular school on the Nigerian mainland was founded at Badagry in January, 1843, by the Rev. William De Graft of the Wesleyan Methodist Mission. The following extract comes from his first account of the school:

The day school which I opened here last January is very promising: we have now already between forty and fifty children (boys and girls)

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<sup>8</sup>C. Buxton, Memoirs of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, 3rd. 8 vol. ed. 1851, p. 451, Quoted by C. P. Groves in The Planting of Christianity in Africa, II, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954), p. 6.



in it, who are getting on very well indeed, to our great satisfaction and joy...Another piece of good news. I have to announce is, that the prejudices of the people here have assumed a rather declining attitude with respect to the school and work at large; and their wish to have their children taught in our school greatly increases. Some of the Chiefs of the different parts of the town, who at first did not wish their children to attend, have sent me several. This certainly secures us two important objects at once --that of increasing the numbers of our children in the school, and admitting us into open doors of usefulness among the divided districts of the town at large, and thus benefitting the whole.<sup>9</sup>

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Nigeria made an unsteady progress in its evangelical and educational efforts. For more than thirty years, the Lagos (Nigeria) District was administered as part of the Mission's Gold Coast District. In 1879, however, the Nigerian District was considered large enough to justify its own separate organization. In that year, too, the Rev. W. Terry Coppin was appointed principal of the Lagos High School, the building of which had been completed in the previous year. At its opening, the High School enrolled thirty-five students.<sup>10</sup>

The Wesleyan Missionary Society Reports for the year 1879 contained this reference to education in Nigeria:

Education has been kept strictly before us, and with good results. The Lagos High School for boys has been diligently worked, and stands high in the opinion of the people, and will indeed compare favourably with other establishments of the kind

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<sup>9</sup>Extract from a letter written by Rev. William De Graft (Native Assistant Missionary), dated, Wesleyan Mission House, Badagry, July 10th, 1843, published in the Wesleyan Missionary Notices, X, 1842-1844 (London: Wesleyan Mission House), p. 407.

<sup>10</sup>G. G. Findlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, IV (London: The Epworth Press, 1926), p. 147.





in West Africa. Our great purpose of this School was to supply suitable agents for interior work, and we hope soon to be able to send forth the first batch of young men, well equipped for the work of spreading the Gospel in their own country.<sup>11</sup>

A Girls' High School was also started in 1879. The number of elementary schools which the Society managed was five. One Miss Smith had come out from England to take charge of the Girls' High School but she returned home shortly after her arrival because of ill-health. Her place was taken by an African lady. Twenty-three girls enrolled on the day the High School was opened.

In 1879 the Methodist Mission in the Yoruba and Popo District was able to make these progress returns:<sup>12</sup>

Full members	850, increase 98
On trial	170
Catechumens	315
Scholars	548
Day Scholars	620.

The High School for Girls had a variegated career in the first few years of its existence. Its buildings were unsatisfactory and there were staffing difficulties. The school closed down in 1890 and classes were not re-opened until 1912.

The Boys' High School, on the other hand, fulfilled the high hopes of its founders. In 1890 an African minister, the Rev. W. B. Euba, was

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<sup>11</sup>The Sixty-Fifth Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1879 (London: Wesleyan Missionary Society), p. 147.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 148.





placed in charge and except for a short break, remained in charge until 1913. Rev. Euba was ably assisted by another African, the Rev. E. W. William. Of these African educators Findlay and Holdsworth wrote:

How successfully these men have worked may be inferred from the fact that representatives of this school were to be found in the Bar, the medical profession, and in architecture, engineering and other professions.<sup>13</sup>

By 1921 the school had become self supporting and "the premises were so crowded that some classes were conducted in the open air."<sup>14</sup>

While the expansion of elementary education and the High School was going on, thought was being given to the need of a teachers' college. In 1900 after G. Findlay had visited Ibadan District, he recommended the establishment of an institution for the training of teachers and catechists. Three years later his recommendation was approved and work on the buildings of Wesley College was started at Ibadan. In 1905 the first four students were admitted. The Rev. F. W. Welbon was appointed the first principal of the College. Rev. Welbon returned to England in 1907 and he was succeeded by the Rev. H. Webster. By 1913 "the curriculum had been so enlarged as to include Euclid and drawing, Greek and theology."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Findlay and Holdsworth, IV, p. 230.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 229



### The Church Missionary Society

In 1845--three years after the arrival of the Methodists in Badagry--the Church Missionary Society (hereafter called the C. M. S.), also moved into the town to establish a mission base. At their mission station they opened a boarding school "into which were admitted the children and domestic slaves of the native chiefs."<sup>16</sup> A second school was also opened for the children of immigrants and temporary residents. In the schools instruction was free and the subjects taught included "the rudiments of gardening, carpentry, book-learning and household duties."<sup>17</sup> The activities of the C. M. S. were shortly afterwards transferred to Abeokuta and Lagos. The reasons for the abandonment of Badagry as the centre of missionary activities were two. First, there was the general unrest caused by the inter-tribal warfare. Rev. De Graft, the pioneer Methodist agent, had remarked about the disunity which existed in the various districts of Badagry.<sup>18</sup> Secondly, the chiefs were suspicious of the real intentions of the missionaries. In particular, the chiefs could find little use for the instruction given in the schools and there was a fear that the children might be turned away from the religion and customs of their own people. The second reason was that the occupation of Lagos by a British naval squadron at the close of 1851

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<sup>16</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers. III, Educational System of the Chief Colonies not Possessing Responsible Government, Southern Nigeria (London: H.M.S.O., 1913), p. 2.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>See extract from William De Graft's letter on page 7.





had made the town a safer and more convenient centre for missionary enterprise. In 1852 the Methodist Mission also moved from Badagry to Lagos.

At Abeokuta the C. M. S. opened a Teachers' College in 1849. This was the first Teachers' College in Nigeria. It was also at Abeokuta that the Mission founded Nigeria's first newspaper--Iwe Irohin (News Sheet). By 1856 there were thirteen C. M. S. schools, four of which were in Lagos. The total number of pupils enrolled was 775. The C. M. S. grammar school for boys was opened at Lagos in 1859.

By 1860 C. M. S. activities in Lagos and Yorubaland had advanced sufficiently to warrant the consideration of opening new fields in the region east of the Niger. The Niger Mission, as the new area of activity was designated, was founded in 1856 under the care and management of the Rev. Samuel Crowther. In 1864 Crowther became the first African to be consecrated a bishop in the Anglican Church Establishment. His elevation to the episcopacy was a recognition of the importance of the training and use of Africans for the evangelization of their own people. The idea of the Africanization of missionary work was not new. Two decades earlier a C. M. S. report contained the following paragraph:

It has long been felt by the Committee<sup>19</sup> that the climate of West Africa presented an insuperable barrier to the extensive propagation of the Gospel in that country by European Agency. The truth of this has been painfully illustrated by the results

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<sup>19</sup>The Committee referred to was the Committee of the Church Missionary Society.



of the Niger expedition.<sup>20</sup> The necessity of a Native Agency for Christianizing Africa is thus manifest. But not only are duly prepared Native Agents necessary, but the necessity of reducing to writing the principal Native Dialects, as the media of imparting knowledge is manifest also. Impressed by these considerations, the Committee have come to the decision, that further measures should be adopted in order to train Natives in Sierra Leone, with a view to their being employed as Teachers of their countrymen; and in order to fix the most considerable Native Dialects, and make Translations into those Dialects for missionary purposes.<sup>21</sup>

For the first seven years (1856-63) the headquarters of the Niger Mission was established at Onitsha. It was removed in 1863 to Bonny on the coast. Educational and evangelical work made steady progress in both the Yoruba and Niger Missions of the C. M. S. The Report for the year 1877-78 contained these figures:

	<u>Yoruba Mission</u>
Stations	10
Native Clergymen	13
Native Christian Lay Teachers	67
Native Communicants	2024
Native Christians	5845

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<sup>20</sup>During the 1841 Niger Expedition (a project jointly sponsored by the British Government, the missionary societies and the African Society), the European members and crew suffered very heavy casualties from malaria and other tropical diseases. Crowther (later Bishop) and other African members were relatively immune.

<sup>21</sup>Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1841-1842 (London: C. M. S., 1842), p. 41.



Yoruba Mission

Schools	29
Scholars	1488 <sup>22</sup>

Niger Mission

Stations	9
Native Bishop and Clergymen	10
Native Christian Lay Teachers	14
Native Communicants	201
Native Christians	901
Schools	7
Scholars	235 <sup>23</sup>

Although the importance of educational work was clearly recognized, no clear-cut policy and procedure had been formulated. The pace and direction seemed to have been dictated by expedience and convenience rather than long-range objectives. Educational institutions were built and closed and re-opened again or else transferred to some other places. The characters of the educational institutions often changed to meet the needs of the moment. Some specific illustrations of the lack of co-ordination may be cited. The original Teachers' College at Abeokuta was removed to Lagos. In the year 1886-87 it had twenty-one students. The C. M. S. Girls' Seminary in Lagos was partly a high school and partly a

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<sup>22</sup>Proceedings of the C. M. S., 1877-1878 (London: C. M. S.), p. 35.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 47.





teacher training institution. During the year 1893-94 there were fourteen boarders and fifty day scholars at the seminary. In that year four of the Native teachers and two of the senior girls passed the College of Preceptors Examination. They had been coached by one Miss Goodall who had gathered together "a class of teachers--throwing it open to those of other schools--for lessons on school management, method of teaching, and endeavoured to impress on them the dignity and privilege and responsibilities of their work."<sup>24</sup>

The growth of the Lagos Grammar School was at first shaky. In the first five years of its existence only sixty-five students had been enrolled, although the standard of work done by the students was favourably reported upon by Colonel Ord in 1865.<sup>25</sup>

In 1896 a Teachers' College was established at Oyo under the principalship of Archdeacon Melville Jones. Eugene Stock in his History of the Church Missionary Society referred to the college as one of the most important agencies of the Mission. Stock also reported that:

Since its establishment in 1896, the total number of students has been 240, of whom 85 are now at work, and 124 are at present under training. Of the 85, ten have been ordained; two are tutors in the College; 23 are catechists; and 50 are school-masters or Scripture readers. Every student has to take his full

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<sup>24</sup>Proceedings of the C. M. S., 1893-94, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup>Copy of the "Report of Colonel Ord, the Commissioner appointed to inquire into the conditions of the British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa," p. 25 in Accounts and Papers, 1865, XXXVII (London: H. M. S. O., 1865).



share in the work of cooking, washing and gardening, etc. etc., so that the cost of the mission is reduced to a minimum, and when the student goes into work he can shift for himself--so that "the dignity of labour is daily and hourly emphasized."<sup>26</sup>

In 1900 the first five students to qualify at the college left after Easter. One was posted to Akure, two to Abeokuta, one to Ogbomosho and the fifth was placed in charge of the mission school at Oyo.<sup>27</sup>

### The Roman Catholic Mission

The origin of the nineteenth century activities of the Roman Catholic Church in Nigeria could be traced to the Lyons Seminary of African Missions which was founded in 1856. Four years after its founding the Seminary received the charge of the vicariate apostolic of Dahomey which extended from the Volta river to the Niger. The first Superior of the Mission was an Italian named Borghero. He arrived in Whyday (Dahomey) in April, 1861. Borghero visited the capital of the Dahomey kingdom and he had little difficulty in persuading the king to grant permission for the establishment of mission stations within his kingdom. In 1863 and in 1866 Borghero made preliminary visits to Lagos and Abeokuta in Nigeria and he reported favourably on the prospects of Catholic missions in those towns.<sup>28</sup> He found too that the British Administration was co-operative and so in 1868 the Lagos mission was opened. In 1872 four Sisters

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<sup>26</sup>Eugene Stock, The History of the Church Mission Society, IV, (London: C. M. S., 1961), p. 69.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>C. P. Groves, II, p. 232.





arrived from France to start a school.

According to Dr. Hilliard:

The main body of the native Roman Catholics was originally made up of people repatriated from Brazil, and so until 1876 all education given in the schools of their Mission was in Portuguese. After 1876, however, the use of English was begun, and in 1882 the teaching of English became compulsory in these schools. A number of Irish Fathers were gradually brought in to help, since most of the missionaries had till then been French. The school in Lagos now known as St. Gregory's Grammar School was opened by an Irish Father in 1876, and about the same time a new station was opened at Topo, near Badagry, and further schools started there. Four years later the Mission began work at Abeokuta.<sup>29</sup>

In 1886 a Convent School was opened at Abeokuta. In the east of the Niger, the Catholic mission began work in 1886. Their first mission station, also built at Onitsha, was on a piece of ground given by Bishop Crowther. Undoubtedly the most outstanding Catholic pioneer in the eastern part of Nigeria was Bishop Shanahan. One writer maintained that Bishop Shanahan used the school as his chief instrument of evangelization because he firmly believed that "those who hold the School, hold the country, hold its religion, holds its future."<sup>30</sup>

As a result of this policy, the Catholic Mission which had only twenty-four schools in Eastern Nigeria in 1906, had increased that number twelve-fold by 1918.

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<sup>29</sup>F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1957), p. 121.

<sup>30</sup>Mother Mary Stanislaus, "Christianity Through the Holy Rosary Sisters' Schools in Nigeria." Capuchin Annual, 1955, p. 329.



### The American Baptist Mission

In 1853 Thomas Bowen of the Southern Baptist Convention landed in Lagos. Included in his team were a number of American negroes, one of whom--The Rev. J. M. Harden--founded the Baptist Academy in 1855. The Academy preceded the C. M. S. Grammar School by four years and thus claims to be the oldest High School in Nigeria. The Baptists went on to Abeokuta where they established their main base. Other out-stations were built and gradually the interior of the Yoruba country was penetrated. In 1876 W. J. David reported on his work in Yorubaland in the following vein:

The cry in all the towns, large and small, that I have visited is for teachers. I shall not beg the Board to manifest more interest in this field. When you remember that five of our faithful band fell in Yoruba; that scores of towns have gates open to the men with the gospel, that millions of men and women are perishing and but few there are to break to them the Bread of Life--there is no need for any words from me to kindle that fire in your heart that has enveloped mine--that I would to God we had more men.<sup>31</sup>

David's plaintive cries were not unheard for in 1883 a fresh batch of missionaries arrived from America. A Training College and Seminary were established at Ogbomoso and a girls' school was founded at Oyo.

### The Church of Scotland Mission

This Mission built its first station at Old Calabar in 1846 and

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<sup>31</sup>Cited by G. W. Sadler, A Century in Nigeria (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1950), p. 82.





was the first to carry out evangelical and educational work in Eastern Nigeria. The Rev. Masterton Hope Waddell, the first mission agent in Calabar, wrote an account of its beginning.

The mission to Old Calabar was the offspring of that in Jamaica, and has all along been intimately connected with it.<sup>32</sup>

He explored further the origins of this connection:

From the day the sun of negro freedom arose in 1834, it was hoped by all friends of Africa that, among the emancipated Christians of the West Indies, valuable agents would be found for propagating the gospel in the land of their progenitors. The subject engaged the attention of our Presbytery in 1839. But on many essential points we were so deficient on information, we could resolve only to make it a matter of reflection, inquiry and prayer. At its meeting in 1840, we resolved to come to our next meeting prepared for deciding the grave question of a mission to Africa, from our Jamaica congregation.<sup>33</sup>

Sir Thomas Buxton's book The Slave Trade and Its Remedy was published just before that next meeting and it was used to open up the subject. The meeting approved the project of an African Mission and the Home Church (the United Secession Church in Scotland) adopted the Mission to Old Calabar.<sup>34</sup> More than £4000 was collected in the first year of its launching and Jamieson, a merchant prince in Liverpool agreed to donate a ship to the mission and also to contribute annually the sum of £100 to its running expenses. Rev. Waddell was appointed to lead the

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<sup>32</sup>Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell, Twenty-Nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa: A Review of Missionary Works and Adventure (London: T. Nelson & Sons, 1863), p. 4.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 206.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 228.





mission and after several delays he finally set out on January 6th, 1846. Accompanying him were Samuel Edgerley and his wife, Andrew Chisholm, Edward Miller and Waddell's own son, George.

Soon after their arrival at Creek Town, Calabar, a school was opened.

At Creek Town we got a beginning made in keeping school, Chisholm desiring that kind of employment. The king appointed a convenient house for the purpose, and a good company of boys attended.<sup>35</sup>

The king expressed the desire for a school because "whitemen were strong by knowledge and education, they went to school from their childhood while black people grew up like goats, knowing nothing."<sup>36</sup>

It was not all the pupils that took kindly to the scriptural fare that went with the secular instruction in the school. One boy for example refused (at first) to take the lesson on the Christian religion saying that his father had sent him to school to "saby trade book," and that he "no want saby God."<sup>37</sup>

At first only the boys were sent to school. A prejudice existed against the education of girls. Some of the reasons given were:

They no can saby book. They no want go for ship make trade.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 275.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 289.

The English learned by many of the coastal people in West Africa is called 'broken' or 'pidgin' English. The free translation of this example is, 'I have come to school to be instructed in commercial subjects. I have not come to learn about God.'



Suppose they saby book, they saucy boy. It no fit they pass boy.<sup>38</sup>

Rev. Waddell upbraided the men and exposed the falsity of their reasoning with respect to girls' education. He explained to them that men suffered greater handicaps because they had wives who were unfit to help them. The rebuke had the desired effect and the girls came to school. On the general state of the school, he recorded that:

Till near the end of the year the school was overflowing, numbering nearly a hundred and twenty scholars daily. It met twice, two or three hours each time, forenoon and afternoon, with an interval of three hours. When the farming and trading season arrived, in the spring, full number fell off to seventy or eighty.<sup>39</sup>

Rev. Waddell retired from active missionary service in 1858 but the work of the Mission contined to grow. When he died in 1895 the Mission dedicated a new institution to his memory. Dr. Hilliard made this note on the Hope Waddell Institution:

This Institution was established with three objects--to provide a good general education in English, to train boys in various industries--carpentry, tailoring, engineering and priting--and to give systematic training for teachers and pastors.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

Translated this means, 'Girls are incapable of learning. They do not want to be instructed in practical subjects such as ship-building. What is more, if they are capable of learning, they will be inclined to be insubordinate to boys. The truth of the matter is, that it is not good for girls to surpass boys.'

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>40</sup>Hilliard, p. 125.





### The Qua Iboe Mission

In 1887 a group of Irish Protestants headed by J. A. Bill founded the Qua Iboe Mission at Ibeno. Their work was extended all over the Qua Iboe River from which the Mission took its name, and also to the Ibibio country. Like most of the other missions, their educational objectives were in the early stages, very limited, consisting of:

Teaching the Natives to read the Bible in their own language and to read and to count to a small extent; they also encouraged them to take some part in general handicraft and the erection of buildings.<sup>41</sup>

### The Primitive Methodists

The Primitive Methodists extended their activities from the island of Fernando Po to the mainland of Nigeria in 1884. For a long time their activities were confined to Calabar and Owerri. Their principal educational institution was the Teacher Training College at Oron.

### Other Missionary Societies

There were a number of other smaller missionary societies. They included the Sudan Interior Mission, the Sudan United Mission and the Mennonite Brethern in Christ. Towards the close of this period, a number of dissentient sects began to appear. Thus, for example, the United Native African Church was a scion which broke away from the Anglican Church (C. M. S.) in 1891. The breakaway group met to discuss their grievances. Their decision was:

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<sup>41</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers. Southern Nigeria, p. 6.



That this meeting in humble dependence upon Almighty God is of the opinion that Africa is to be evangelized, and that the foreign agencies at work at the present moment, taking into consideration climatic and other influences, cannot grasp the situation...Resolved that a purely Native African Church be founded, for the evangelization and amelioration of our race, to be governed by African.<sup>42</sup>

The African Church (Inc.) was another offshoot of the Anglican Church and both the Methodists and the Baptist Churches have had break-away groups. Other groups like the Order of the Seraphim and Cherubim were organized independently of foreign missionary societies. All these small groups clearly recognized the educational aspects of evangelization and lost no time in establishing schools. In both volume and quality, however, they were overshadowed by the efforts of the main societies whose early work is the subject of this chapter.

#### Aims and Functions in Early Missionary Education in Nigeria

In this chapter an attempt has been made to conduct a historical and quantitative survey of the early contributions made by the various Christian missionary societies and bodies to Southern Nigerian education. At this point it is relevant to examine critically their aims and the functions both manifest and latent, which were performed in the prosecution of these aims.

There has been no dearth of writings on the aims of Christian education in Africa generally. Missionaries and others alike have from

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<sup>42</sup>G. A. Oke, A Short History of the United Native African Church (Lagos: 1936), p. 6, cited by James S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), pp. 175-76.





time to time expressed their views on this subject. The following random selection of views serve to illustrate the object of the continent-wide effort of which the Nigerian development was a significant part:

- a. The missionaries opened schools for two main reasons: they wanted all their followers to be able to read the Bible, and they wanted a few of their followers to have a greater knowledge so as to become teachers of the others. Some missionaries may have considered education a good thing in itself, but to all the principal object of schools was as an aid to evangelization.<sup>43</sup>
- b. The missionary Bishop, Doctor Shanahan, decided that the key to the heart of the African lay in tiny hands and that the school was to be his chief instrument of evangelization. 'Those who hold the School hold the country, hold its religion, hold its future.'<sup>44</sup>
- c. "We consider," writes M. Jean Bianquis, General Secretary of the Société des Missions évangéliques, "that the importance of educational work on the mission field cannot be exaggerated."<sup>45</sup>
- d. "To primitive tribes, just come in contact with European and Christian influences, education and the Christian religion present themselves as one. The school goes hand in hand with the preaching of the Gospel,"<sup>46</sup> writes M. Junod of the Swiss Mission, Rakatla, Lourenco Marques.
- e. "Life," points out J. D. Taylor of the Adam's Mission Station, Natal, "is not complete in the awakening of the spirit alone, but demands the development of body and mind also; and all that concerns the production of the fullest

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<sup>43</sup>R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa (London: O.U.P., 1959), p. 22.

<sup>44</sup>Stanislaus, p. 329.

<sup>45</sup>World Missionary Conference, 1910. Report of Commission 1 - 8 (Prcof Copy). Report of Commission III. Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life. Chap. V., Africa, p. 74.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.





life is legitimate and necessary missionary work."<sup>47</sup>

- f. "Education," writes the Rev. Hon. Dr. A. Hellerwick of the Blantyre Mission, Nyasaland, "enables the heathen to apply the truths of God to the difficulties that he may meet in life. Without education he is like a man with a weapon in his hand which he does not know how to use because he has not been taught. A sound Christian is always a well-taught Christian."<sup>48</sup>
- g. Professor Julian Huxley in his book, Africa View, interprets the missionary motive as one which "puts conversion far above education, concentrates as much as possible on religious teaching, and often--though this attitude is decreasing-- sees in secular knowledge merely a bait with which to angle for souls."<sup>49</sup>
- h. The following is part of a note which appeared in an official publication of the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, early in this century:  
  
How, then is Africa to be Christianized...The Agency by which alone, we can Christianize Africa, is the African himself, but he must first be trained to that work by the European in Africa...The training of the African for the education and evangelization of Africa is the natural method and the best.<sup>50</sup>
- i. Lord Lugard, one of the greatest of the empire-builders, and one whose career was intimately bound up with the creation of modern Nigeria, is cited as pointing out that with the missions,

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Cited by J. H. Oldman and B. D. Gibson, The Remaking of Man in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 21.

<sup>50</sup>The Herald of the Primitive Methodist Missionary Society, Jan., 1905 (London: P. M. M. S.), p. 14.



"Education is considered secondary and ancillary to evangelization."<sup>51</sup>

- j. Dr. E. W. Blyden cited the following piece from Dean Stanley:

Above all, it is now beginning to be felt that education is, in itself, a powerful almost indispensable, engine for the introduction of the Gospel. From time to time the truth has been recognized that Christianity depends for its due effect on the condition of those who receive it. It was recognized by Gregory the Great when he warned that the hasty missionary who first planted it amongst our Saxon forefathers, that we move by steps not by leaps. It was recognized by Innocent III, when he warned that the first evangelizers of Prussia must put new wines into new bottles. It was recognized by the Moravians in their simple phrase that they must teach their converts to count the number Three before they taught them the doctrine of the Trinity.<sup>52</sup>

- k. Henry Carr, in his official report of the state of education in the Colony of Lagos during the year 1901, had this to say about the men who were employed as teachers in the mission schools:

Besides being engaged in teaching the men were also employed as evangelists and mission agents. Indeed, teaching is but a stage in their career, as the successful teachers looked forward to being eventually received into the ministry of the Church with which their schools were connected.<sup>53</sup>

- l. Finally, the method of Christian education in Africa was summed up by a writer on West African education:

Rightly or wrongly, in those early days it was felt that the Africans who were to serve the mission should make a complete

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<sup>51</sup>Lord Lugard, The Dual Mandate, cited by Oldman and Gibson, p. 19.

<sup>52</sup>E. W. Blyden, Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race (London: W. B. Whittingham & Co., 1887), p. 81, quoting Dean Stanley's sermon on The Prospect of Christian Missions.

<sup>53</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers. Southern Nigeria, p. 3.





break with their former lives. Not only were they to put aside customary habits such as polygamy and fetish ritual, but they were required to adopt some of the trappings of European life. They had to avoid native dancing, take Biblical names, wear European clothes and learn English. During their training they lived at the mission station. Being in close contact with Europeans, they acquired to a greater or lesser extent European values. The missionaries wanted this to happen, for Africans so trained would be all the more effective in their work. One consequence, however, was that, in the mind of the people, the Christian life became associated with a European way of life.<sup>54</sup>

The early Catholic missionaries in Nigeria experimented with communities which were called 'reductions.'

These reductions were in effect model Christian villages, the inhabitants of which had been withdrawn from the surrounding barbarism in order to constitute a self sufficient social unit of which the school was of course a part.<sup>55</sup>

From these several viewpoints and from the preceding survey of early missionary activities in Nigeria, one can draw the easy inference that the salvation of the African soul was the primary object of missionary efforts. It is equally clear that each missionary society or organization recognized the fact that the primary objective could not be attained without some form of education. Beyond this point, there was a great deal of floundering. The content and method of education were neither fully understood nor uniformly and consistently conceived.

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<sup>54</sup>C. G. Wise, A History of Education in British West Africa (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 1956), pp. 23-24.

<sup>55</sup>S. Phillipson and W. E. Holt, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria: A Review with Recommendations (Lagos: Government Printer, 1948), p. 11.



Educational work was in most cases carried out haphazardly and geared to ad hoc needs. There is no record of systematic long-time planning and expansion.

The approach adopted for the total religio-cultural conversion of the African was a negative one. The prospective convert was required to put away polygamy but no one told him what he was to do with the wives who bore his own children. He was to abjure fetish ritual and to break his graven images but was allowed no alternative channel for his creative urge to mould, to carve, to symbolize the awe and wonder which surrounded his everyday life. He could not join in the singing and the dancing which provided relief for his fears and frustrations. Even his own name by which the circumstances of his birth, his family and clan connections were ascertainable was declared incompatible with the new religion. And so he became known as Hosea, Habbakuk or Jeremiah. Set apart for God in 'reductions' and in 'mission compounds', he became a pariah to his own people, one shorn of the usual rights, privileges, and, of course, responsibilities of membership. This was the high price that the early African Christian had to pay for the new faith which was held out to him.

Only a handful could pay the price. Slaves and social outcasts were usually the first to be drawn into the new religion. The missionary also under-estimated the attraction of the material prosperity and the superior technology of the whiteman. In fact, Christianity and the whiteman's way of life were usually identified as one and the same thing. When the young people flocked to the mission schools, it was not religion that most of them were after but the power and the glory which were





associated with the whiteman's ways. The result of this was the performance of latent functions, many of which were in direct contradiction to the professed aims and intentions of the Christianizing agencies. The young people who were educated in the schools turned away from the religion and customs of their own people but only to take on the veneers of western civilization. It was this state of affairs which made the Rev. J. C. R. Wilson of the Niger Mission write, in 1905:

So many of the youth of our schools are becoming 'young gentlemen'..spending their money on English clothes and on dancing clubs, and unwilling to give any support to the Churches and schools from which they have derived so much in social position...they must be seen on Sundays, so they come into church in the middle of the service with high collars and yellow shoes...the more respectable older men among Christians and non-Christians alike notice these things, but are unable to check them except by refusing to allow the little boys to be educated at all.<sup>56</sup>

A few years later Lugard proposed a new Education Ordinance for Southern Nigeria as a corrective for the adverse effects which the existing education (mainly given in mission schools) had produced. Lugard wrote that the results of education "were evident in the decay of family and social discipline, and too often in discontent and hostility to any constituted authority, masquerading as racial or national patriotism or as the indication of rights unjustly ignored."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for the Year 1912 - 1913, p. 31.

<sup>57</sup>F. D. Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation of Northern and Southern Nigeria and Administration, 1912-1918 (London: H. M. S. O., 1920), p. 59.





## CHAPTER II

### THE GOVERNMENT'S PARTICIPATION IN SOUTHERN NIGERIAN EDUCATION, UP TILL 1912

#### The Government's Late Entry into Education

So far, no mention has been made of Government participation in the education of the peoples of Southern Nigeria. This is because the Government, to be more exact, the British administration in Lagos and the consular services on the Niger and Oil rivers, did not come into the educational picture until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This indifference to educational matters did not escape comment--even from official quarters. Thus, Colonel Ord, who came out to West Africa in 1864 to inquire into the conditions of the British Settlements there, reported briefly and truthfully on Lagos that "education receives no assistance from Government."<sup>1</sup> In 1872 the Governor of the Lagos Settlement reported in the Blue Book that:

This settlement contributes nothing towards the promotion of religion or education. The Church Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Society and the Roman Catholic are all represented in the shape of ministers, churches and schools.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Copy of the Report of Colonel Ord, the Commissioner appointed to look into the conditions of the British Settlements on the West Coast of Africa, Accounts and Papers, 1863, Vol. XXXVII (London: H. M. S. O), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Papers Relating to Her Majesty's Colonial Possession: Part I, 1874, p. 138 cited by E. W. Blyden, Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race (London: W. G. Whittingham & Co., 1887), p. 59.



The first Government contribution to education was made in 1877 when the sum of £200 was given to each of the three main missionary bodies for the expansion of educational work in Lagos. This grant was continued annually until 1882. In that year an Education Ordinance was passed for the Gold Coast Colony of which Lagos was then a part.

#### The 1882 Ordinance

1. The Ordinance made provision for the creation of a general Board of Education--composed of the Governor, the members of his Executive Council, and not more than four nominated members.
2. The general Board was empowered to create local boards to give advice on the opening of new schools and the extent to which conditions for grants-in-aid were being observed.
3. An officer with the title of "Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools for the West African Colonies" was to be appointed. He was to be assisted by an Inspector of Schools. One-third of the salary of Her Majesty's Inspector was to be paid by the Lagos Settlement.
4. A system of grants-in-aid was to be established. This was to follow the lines of the system of grants then existing in the United Kingdom. Thus grants were made on the basis of (a) organization and discipline, (b) number of passes at various grade examinations, (c) general excellence and (d) capitation





grant based on average attendance.<sup>3</sup>

The Ordinance was amended in 1884 and two years later the Settlement of Lagos once more became a separate administrative unit. In 1887 the first purely Nigerian Education Ordinance was passed. It retained the main features of the 1882 Ordinance but several important changes were made.

### The 1887 Ordinance

1. The composition of the general Board of Education was altered to include four members nominated from the ranks of school managers. The members of the Executive Council were replaced by members of the Legislative Council. The Inspector of Schools was given a seat on the new Board.
2. The conditions for the award of grants were spelled out more fully. Their applications to infant, primary and secondary schools and industrial schools were clarified.
3. A scholarship scheme was established, and under its provisions poor, but able, pupils were recommended for the award of £10 annually to aid them in the pursuit of secondary education.
4. The Ordinance also introduced the idea of the certification of teachers.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>The details of the 1882 Ordinance given here are based on Phillipson and Holt, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>The details of the 1887 Ordinance which are given here are based on The Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria, p. 4.



The Ordinance was amended in 1891 and the following year Henry Carr, an African and former tutor at the C. M. S. Grammar School in Lagos, was appointed first Inspector of Schools for Lagos.

Up until the end of the nineteenth century, Government participation (which was late in coming) was limited to advisory capacities and also to laying down the conditions for the award of grants to the schools run by the various missionary societies. There was no Government school until 1899 when a school for Moselm children was opened at Lagos. For half a century the Christian missionary societies had provided all the available education and although the schools were generally open to all comers, the Moslems were naturally less enthusiastic about receiving education in the Christian schools. There was thus an imbalance of educational opportunities between professed Christians and non-Christians. The Lagos Moslem school was the first step taken by the Government to reduce the imbalance.

In 1900 the year in which a formal Protectorateship was declared over the whole of Southern Nigeria, the Colonial Report Annual noted that:

There is no secondary education in the Protectorate, and the primary education is limited to the schools connected with the churches and missions, with the exception of the Eyamba School at Duke Town, old Calabar, which is managed by a committee of natives. In the schools at Old Calabar and Onitsha industrial education is combined with primary education.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Colonial Report Annual, No. 353. Southern Nigeria, 1900 (London: H. M. S. O.), p. 16.





To provide secondary education combined with industrial training, the Government took over the Bonny High School which the Niger Delta Pastorate had founded in 1898. A new site was chosen at Ogugumanga and the school became a joint project of the Government, local chiefs and the trading firms. Thus, the following contributions to the support of the school are indicative of the wide support and interest it commanded:

Government	£240
Elder Dempster (Shipping) Lines	£ 31.10s
Chiefs of Bonny and New Calabar	£450
Fees	£202 <sup>6</sup>

In 1904 new buildings were put up for the school at a cost of £11,000. Accommodation was provided for teachers, classroom and workshops. Meanwhile, a new Government primary school was opened in Benin City.

The first Education Department in Southern Nigeria was set up in 1903 and three years later, when an administrative merger took place between the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, a new Education Code was drawn up to incorporate the Lagos Education Ordinance of 1887, and the Southern Nigeria Education Proclamation of 1905. These were further amended and consolidated in 1908 resulting in a new enactment which was simply called the Education Ordinance.

The staff of the Education Department in 1908 consisted of one

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.





Director, four European Superintendents of Schools and three European schoolmasters. The first Government secondary school was opened at Lagos in 1909. The school was named King's College and it was modelled on the pattern of the English public school. Its first buildings and equipment cost £10,000.

The object of the College is to provide for the youth of the Colony a higher education than that supplied by the existing schools, to prepare them for Matriculation examination of the University of London, and to give a useful course of study to those who intend to qualify for professional life or to enter Government or mercantile service.<sup>7</sup>

#### The 1911 Education Code

A new Education Code was drafted in 1911 to give guidance on:

The organization, management of Government schools, the inspection and examination of the mission schools which are registered on the official list of 'Assisted Schools,' and the assessment and payment to them of annual grants-in-aid, and the examination of all candidates for Teachers' Certificates.<sup>8</sup>

The new code not only took into account primary and secondary education, but also industrial, manual and agricultural training.

The Education Department itself was:

Responsible for the general administration of education as laid down in the Education Code, the organization and management of Government schools.<sup>9</sup>

There were three Provincial Boards--one for each of the Western

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<sup>7</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers. Southern Nigeria, p. 26.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.



Central and Eastern Provinces. Each Provincial Board consisted of five ex-officio members and not more than ten nominated members. The nominated members were appointed for a three year term. The president of the Board was the Provincial Commissioner, and the Provincial Inspector of Schools acted as secretary.

### Teacher Education in 1912

There were four grades of teachers in the Government schools as shown in the following annual salary scales: (a) £100 - £150; (b) £70 - £90; (c) £50 - £70; and (d) £30 - £50. In addition, there were four West Indian teachers who were paid salaries ranging from £150 - £240 a year. The salaries paid to teachers in the Assisted Schools varied from £9 per annum to £50 or £60 for principals or head teachers.

These salaries are augmented by a regulation of the Education Code which requires that one-third of the total amount of grant earned by any school, exclusive of maintenance and building grants, shall be divided among the teachers proportionately to their respective salaries.<sup>10</sup>

The Government also provided for a grant of £25, £20 or £15 to teachers in Assisted Schools who had first, second or third class certificates respectively, provided that such teachers were being paid specified salaries by the Mission in whose schools they were engaged and provided, too, that their work was satisfactory.

The Education Code required that all school masters or principal teachers in Assisted Schools be certified, except in special cases.

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 30.





Other teachers were required to be competent.

Examinations for the award of second and third class certificates are held annually in the month of December. Candidates for certificates must either have qualified as pupil teachers, or have served as teachers for at least one year in a Government or Assisted school, or have been trained for at least one year in a recognised training institution. To obtain a certificate candidates are required to pass two examinations called First and Second Year Teachers' Examinations. They are examined in Reading, Writing and Dictation, English Grammar and Composition, History and Geography, Science of Common Things, Hygiene, and School Methods and Principles of Teaching.<sup>11</sup>

The First Class Certificate was awarded to those holders of the Second Class Certificate who had taught for at least three years from the date of obtaining the Second Class Certificate, in a Government, Assisted or approved school and who had also had three satisfactory annual reports.<sup>12</sup>

The conditions for being a pupil teacher were laid down by the Code.

1. The candidate must be at least fourteen years old.
2. He must be engaged under a written contract for a minimum period of two years.
3. The pupil teacher must have passed Standard V.
4. He must receive from his principal or other approved teacher at least one hour's instruction every day to prepare him for the Annual Pupil Teacher Examinations. The subjects of the annual examination were identical with those prescribed for

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.



Standards VI and VII in the primary schools. There was, of course, the additional requirement of a test in practical teaching.

5. A Government grant of L3 per year was payable to a first year pupil teacher whose remuneration was not less than L3 a year. In the second year, this grant was increased to L5, provided also, that the pupil teacher received at least L4.10s from his employers.
6. Successful pupil teachers were eligible for admission to a teacher training college and for recognition as Assistant Teachers.

In 1912 there was as yet no Government or Assisted Institutions specially established for the sole purpose of training teachers.

#### TABLES RELATING TO EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA UP TO 1912

TABLE I

##### LAGOS MISSION SCHOOLS, 1886

Denomination	No. of Schools	Scholars		Total
		Male	Female	
Church of England	16	869	496	1,365
Wesleyan Methodist	8	344	206	550
Roman Catholic	4	262	249	511
Baptist	2	136	102	238
	30	1,611	1,053	2,664

Source: Lagos Blue Book for the Year, 1886, p. 42.





TABLE II  
LAGOS MISSION SCHOOLS, 1896

Denomination	No. of Schools	Scholars		
		Male	Female	Total
Church of England	15	1,044	587	1,631
Wesleyan Methodist	6	482	178	660
Roman Catholic	8	364	341	705
Baptist	1	44	44	88
United African Church	1	97	90	187
	31	2,031	1,240	3,271

Source: Lagos Blue Book for the Year 1896, p. 70.

TABLE III  
ENROLMENT IN THE SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1906

Kind of School		Pupils		Total
		Boys	Girls	
Government	Western Provinces	514	31	545
	Central Provinces	1,073	145	1,218
	Eastern Provinces	1,036	39	1,075
				2,838
Assisted	Western Provinces	3,681	1,437	5,118
	Central Provinces	1,225	99	1,324
	Eastern Provinces	2,815	776	3,591
				10,033

Source: Based on information contained in Colonial Report Annual, No. 583, Southern Nigeria for 1907 (London: H. M. S. O.), p. 17.





TABLE IV

## TEACHERS IN GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED SCHOOLS OF SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

School	Certified Teachers	Pupil Teachers	Total
Government	147	63	210
Assisted	190	156	246
			456

Source: Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria, p. 30.

TABLE V

## SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

School	No. of Day Students	No. of Boarders	Total
King's College, Lagos	67	-	67
C.M.S. Grammar School, Lagos	152	2	154
C.M.S. Girls' Seminary, Lagos	155	14	169
St. Mary's Convent, Lagos	24	-	24
St. Gregory's College, Lagos	71	-	71
Wesleyan Boys' High School, Lagos	98	4	102
New High School Class, Lagos	76	1	77
Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar	167	13	180
Abeokuta Grammar School	32	26	58
	842	60	902

Source: Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria, p. 26.



TABLE VI

TRADES TAUGHT AND NUMBER OF APPRENTICES TAUGHT IN THREE SCHOOLS, 1912

School	Carpenter	Cooper	Blacksmith	Tailor	Printer
Bonny	23	29	-	-	-
Warri	53	17	31	-	-
Hope Waddell	9	-	-	13	5

Source: Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria,  
p. 9.

TABLE VII

TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

Educational Agency	LAGOS		
	Western Province	Central Province	Eastern Province
Government	-	-	-
Church Missionary Society	1 (Oyo)	-	1 (Awka)
Southern Baptist Convention	1 (Ogbomoso)	-	-
Roman Catholic Mission	-	-	-
Qua Iboe Mission	-	-	-
Primitive Methodist Mission	-	-	1 (Oron)
Church of Scotland Mission	-	-	1 (Hope Waddell)

Source: This Table was compiled by the writer from information given in the Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria.





TABLE VIII

## GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED SCHOOLS IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

Schools	1910	1911	1912
Government	59	61	59
Assisted	106	115	91
TOTAL	165	176	150

Source: Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria,  
p. 12.

TABLE IX

PUPIL ENROLMENT IN GOVERNMENT AND ASSISTED SCHOOLS  
IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1910-1912

Year	School	No. on Roll		Average Attendance			
		Boys	Girls	Boys		Girls	
1910	Government	4,251	222	4,473	2,956	107	3,063
	Assisted	12,626	2,494	15,120	8,825	1,615	10,440
1911	Government	5,399	238	5,637	3,393	145	3,538
	Assisted	11,738	2,478	14,216	8,734	1,700	10,434
1912	Government	5,508	174	5,682	3,873	111	3,984
	Assisted	12,449	2,977	15,426	9,673	2,059	11,732

Source: Imperial Education Conference Papers, Southern Nigeria,  
p. 12.



### Review of Government's Contribution to Education

The preceding survey of the Government's contribution to education during this period cannot fail to reveal how slight that contribution has been. Throughout the last century, no Department of Education was formed and hence there was no body of officials which could enforce the conditions laid down in the 1882 Code and its successors. The Government made no attempt to build schools of its own until the end of the century. All this leads one to ask the question, "Why was the Government so tardy in coming to the educational field, and why was the contribution so small?"

Neither Government nor missionary records give any clear answer to these questions. Whatever view is held would be largely a matter of conjecture. One point of view or argument, which was officially used in the North was that the Government had a very small and grossly inadequate budget. This was unfortunately true. The little budget was taken up with providing leave and transportation facilities for the British officials. There was a real need for economy and one way to achieve this was to train local recruits for the jobs which expatriate officers did. The British seemed somewhat reluctant to adopt this method. Another view was that Britain had no long term plans in West Africa before the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There was a good deal of talk about giving up the West African Settlements and it was to look into this and other matters that Colonel Ord was sent out in 1864. The uncertainty about the future of West African Settlements might be a possible explanation for the reluctance of the British Government to spend any large sum of money on education. Yet, one may wonder whether





it was logical to spend L20,000,000 to emancipate the slaves and yet decide against spending a much smaller sum to educate the people and so help them to overcome the conditions in which slavery had flourished. It would be recalled that Britain had, after the Emancipation, borne the cost of maintaining a West African naval squadron to keep the slavers off the sea and was responsible for sponsoring the exploratory voyages that were aimed at opening up the interior of Africa to peaceful trade.

Still another side to the question was that in Victorian England public opinion was slow in coming to the view that education was a state responsibility. The Foster Act of 1870, which was hailed as marking the beginning of a universal primary education in England, actually did little more than fill the gaps in the educational provisions of the voluntary agencies. Under the Act, elected local school boards were to establish schools only where the other agencies were unable to meet the educational needs of the district. Taking into account the fact that educational policy in England was so conservative, it could hardly be expected that educational policies in the territories and settlements of West Africa would be more progressive.

As the budgets in Lagos and the Protectorate were small, the British officials were only too pleased to leave the task of educating the natives to the missionary societies. The plausibility of this view is enhanced by the parallel situation in Sierra Leone. In November, 1864, when Colonel Ord arrived on his mission, he discovered that the government of Sierra Leone spent annually L14,000 on the peace keeping force and only L666 was allocated to education. According to a history of education in





Sierra Leone:

the plea of the local Government for the limitation of its effort in this direction was that very extensive funds has long been, and still were being, spent through other agencies for this work, and that until this aid was withdrawn or diminished, greater assistance from the revenue was not essential.<sup>13</sup>

It therefore seems possible that the administration of the Colony of Lagos felt just as justified in not spending any money on education because the missionary societies were doing so much.

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<sup>13</sup>D. L. Sumner, Education in Sierra Leone (Freetown: The Government of Sierra Leone, 1963), p. 76.



## CHAPTER III

### THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION INTO NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1900-1912

#### The Existing System of Koranic Schools

The introduction of western education into Northern Nigeria did not begin until more than half a century after the first mission school was opened in the South. This late development was due, in part, to the greater distance of the northern areas from the coast. As recorded earlier on, some places on the coast had known European influence for several centuries. When the Christian missionaries began their activities they found it more convenient to establish their first bases on the coast and gradually extend their activities into the interior.

A more important reason for the late introduction of western education into the North was the fact that the area had been, and still is, a predominantly Moslem region, and one which for several centuries had maintained trans-Saharan contacts with North Africa, the Middle East, and other parts of the Moslem world. The Moslem North had its own system of formal education. Cities like Sokoto, Kano and Katsina were well-known centres of Islamic Studies. Concerning the existing Islamic system of education, an early Government publication reported:

There are numerous Native Schools in the Protectorate, entirely Mohammedan, at which children are taught to read the Hausa language in Arabic characters. These schools receive no grant from the Government, are not under the control of the Administration and furnish no reports of statistics.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1901 (Lagos: Thomas Babbington Macauley, Government Printer, Protectorate of Northern Nigeria), p. 7.





A few years later, another official commented:

Government did not interfere with indigenous Koranic schools in which reading and writing in the Arabic and Ajemi character and memorising passages from the Koran formed the curriculum. They were estimated at some 25,000 with over a quarter of a million pupils. These Koranic schools have produced a literary class known as "Mallamai," learned in Arabic and the teachings of the Koran and commentaries, from whose ranks the officers of the Native Administration, the judges of the Native Courts, and the exponents of the creed of Islam were drawn.<sup>2</sup>

With an established system of education of their own, it was not surprising that the Northern Moslems were less enthusiastic about the adoption of a new education system which was identified with a different religion and a completely new way of life. This did not, however offer a completely satisfactory explanation of the late development of western education in Northern Nigeria. As will be shown in the next chapter, the British Administration itself seemed equally unwilling to promote or aid the expansion of western education in the Northern Protectorate.

#### Mission Activities in Northern Nigeria

As was the case in Southern Nigeria, the Christian missionaries were the first to introduce western education in the North. There is no clear record as to when the first school was established, but it is probable that it was located at Lokoja, the settlement at the confluence of the Benue and Niger rivers. The first report of the High Commissioner of the newly created Protectorate of Northern Nigeria contained the following paragraph on education:

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<sup>2</sup>Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation, p. 60.



Some teaching is done by the Church Missionary Society at their stations at Lokoja. The Toronto Industrial Mission newly established in the Protectorate proposes to undertake technical education and instructing the natives in farming.<sup>3</sup>

The Blue Book for the Year 1902 noted that the C. M. S. did teaching work at Lokoja and at Ghirko near Zaria. Reference was also made to the site which the Toronto Industrial Mission had acquired at Pategi.<sup>4</sup> The C. M. S. was reported as opening new schools in Bida and Bassa during the year 1903. The total number of pupils enrolled in the Mission's four schools during the year was given as 120. The children at the Freed Slaves Home, Zungeru, were also taught some English.<sup>5</sup>

For the year 1905 the Government reported:

The resources of the revenue have not permitted any general scheme of education, nor have the Missionary Societies been in a position to put forward any scheme which could be supported by Government grants.<sup>6</sup>

During that year, the Government made its first direct contribution to education in the form of a small grant to the Mission school at Bida.<sup>7</sup> A number of apprentices were also being trained in the Government Departments.<sup>8</sup> The apprentices were paid between L12 and L24 per annum

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<sup>3</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1901, p. U.

<sup>4</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1902, p. U.

<sup>5</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1903, p. U.

<sup>6</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1905, P. U<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.





and the boys were indentured for five years. The enrolment at the Bida school was 29 in September, 1906, and the Government grant to the school was £40. The year 1906 also saw the opening of the first Government school at Sokoto. The pupils were taught to write Arabic and Hausa in Roman characters.<sup>9</sup>

By 1907 the enrolment at the C. M. S. school at Lokoja had risen to 80 pupils, both boys and girls. The average daily attendance was 63. The number of C. M. S. educational establishments in the Northern Protectorate during 1907 included 1 Boarding School, 8 Day Schools, and 11 Night Schools.

A second Government school was opened at Kontagora for the sons of chiefs. The school at Sokoto enrolled 21 boys during the year.

Also in 1907, a second Protestant Mission--the Sudan United Mission--made its appearance on the educational scene of Northern Nigeria. Their first school was opened at Bukuru with forty pupils.<sup>10</sup>

During 1908 the C. M. S., still the main operator in the educational field, advanced the schools at Lokoja, Bida and Kutigi to the Fourth Standard. The subjects taught included English Language and Grammar, Arithmetic and Geography. A training class for pupil teachers was opened at Kutigi under the management of a West Indian schoolmaster. Among the pupils enrolled at the C. M. S. school in Zaria were seven sons

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 1906, p. U<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>10</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1907, p. U<sub>1</sub>.





of chiefs. The school at Lokoja recorded an enrolment of 120 for the year. The Mission had a total of twelve teachers in its employment.

One of the most outstanding achievements of the C. M. S. during the year was the production of The Nigerian Reader. The Government contributed the sum of £25 towards the cost of its publication.

The Sudan United Mission (hereafter called the S. U. M.) extended its educational activities to Dampar, Donga and Wukari. The unusually large number of 1,446 was reported to be in attendance at Dampar alone.

Two more educational agencies were reported during the year. The first was the Sudan Interior Mission (hereafter called the S. I. M.) and the Roman Catholic Mission (R. C. M.). The first R. C. M. school was also opened at Lokoja.

The Government contribution to education had not been expanded. The school at Sokoto had only 31 pupils but the Kontagora school was reported to be in good working order. "Some of the boys can read and write English fairly well and use a typewriter."<sup>11</sup>

Serious thought was, of course, being given to the establishment of an articulated system of public education. The newly appointed Governor, Sir Percy Girouard, detailed one of his British officers to study the educational systems of the Egyptian-Sudan, Egypt, the Gold Coast and of Lagos.

Throughout the Protectorate, the C. M. S. operated seventeen schools with a combined pupil enrolment of 230. The S. U. M. schools at

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<sup>11</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1908, p. U<sub>1</sub>.



Ibi, Wukari, Langtang and Donga averaged twelve pupils each. The S. I. M. ran five schools at Patigi, Wushishi, Egbe, Kpada and Paiko. There were fifty pupils at the R. C. M. school in Lokoja and all instruction was given in English.

The year 1909 is important in the history of education in Northern Nigeria because of the decision to establish an Education Department of the Administration. Hanns Vischer was seconded from the Political Department to act as the director of the new Department. Four Government schools were built at Nassarawa, Kano, and the director's principal job was to look after these schools. One of the schools was set aside for the sons of Emirs and Chiefs.<sup>12</sup> The object of this school "was to give to the sons and relatives of Emirs and Chiefs a good general education, to make them more fitted to hold responsible executive offices in the Administration."<sup>13</sup> The second school was to train teachers for the schools and to train men who would work as agents, clerks, surveyors, either in the Native Authorities or directly under European officers.<sup>14</sup> The third school opened was a general school and the fourth was a technical school. In the schools, "the pupils and their attendants live in compounds arranged as much as possible according to the districts from

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<sup>12</sup>The Emirs were the principal Moslem rulers in Northern Nigeria.

<sup>13</sup>Captain C. W. J. Orr, The Making of Northern Nigeria (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1911), p. 268.

<sup>14</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers. Northern Nigeria, p. 4.





which they came."<sup>15</sup>

During the year 1910, the enrolment at the Government schools was as follows:

Schools for Mallams <sup>16</sup> at Kano	73
School for Sons of Chiefs at Kano	82
Elementary Vernacular School, Kano	72
Native School, Sokoto	31 <sup>17</sup>

The Government expenditure on education during the year was L2,580.<sup>18</sup>

During the year, the C. M. S. had a total of twenty-two schools, an increase of five over the previous year. There was, in addition, a new training class for evangelists at Bida. Four young men had already been trained for the Society's work. The S. U. M. centres of educational work had increased to six. At the Lucy Memorial Freed Slaves Home in Zungeru there were 54 boys and 118 girls.

The S. I. M. recorded progress at Pategi, Wushishi, Egbe, Karu, Kpada and Paiko.<sup>19</sup>

The Year saw yet another organization beginning educational work

<sup>15</sup>Orr, pp. 268-269.

<sup>16</sup>A Mallam is a term used for any learned man or teacher.

<sup>17</sup>Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1910, p. U<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. U<sub>2</sub>.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. U<sub>3</sub>.



in Northern Nigeria. This was the Mennonite Mission. The Mission established two schools, at Jebba and Shonga.

The statistical returns for the year 1911 showed the state of the Government schools as follows:

	<u>Enrolment</u>
School for Mallams	80
School for Sons of Chiefs, Kano	97
Elementary Vernacular School, Kano	102
Workshop	31
Surveying Class	10
Government School, Sokoto	31

It was also recorded that the Government Schools received substantial support from the Native Administrations (NAs).<sup>20</sup> Their contributions for the year were as follows:

Zaria (Native Administration)	£ 80
Kano (Native Administration)	£1000
Bauchi (Native Administration)	£ 100
Muri (Native Administration)	£ 50
Bornu (Native Administration)	£ 120

In addition, the school for Mallams received support from a local

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<sup>20</sup>A Native Administration was the unit of local government. This is also the term used for the system of Indirect Rule (introduced into Northern Nigeria by Lugard) whereby the territory was governed by the native rulers under the supervision of British officials.



organization called the Beit-el-Mal.<sup>21</sup>

TABLE X

## GOVERNMENT EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

Kind of Institution	Number	Location
Elementary School	2	Nassarawa, Kano
Primary School	1	Nassarawa, Kano
Technical School	1	Nassarawa, Kano
School Farm	1	Nassarawa, Kano
Provincial School	3	Sokoto, Katsina, and Kontagora

Source: The table was compiled from the Imperial Education Conference Papers. Northern Nigeria.

TABLE XI

## MISSION SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1912

Mission Affiliation	Kind of School		Pupil Enrolment
	Elementary	Primary	
Church Missionary Society	3	10	No Information
Sudan United Mission	3	1	178
Sudan Interior Mission	7	-	75
The Mennonite Brethern in Christ	3		No Information
Missiona Africaines de Lyons	1	-	No Information

Source: The table was compiled from the pages of the Imperial Education Conference Papers. Northern Nigeria.

<sup>21</sup>The figures are from Northern Nigeria. Blue Book for the Year 1911, pp. U<sub>1</sub>-U<sub>2</sub>.





Review of the Progress of Education in Northern Nigeria up till 1912

The preceding account and Tables show clearly how far behind the North was in respect to western education. In 1912 this huge region covering an area of 256,400 square miles and with a population estimated in 1911<sup>22</sup> at 9,269,000, had only twenty-nine schools--all having a combined pupil enrolment of less than 700. Some of the factors which have been responsible for this very slow growth have already been mentioned, but one important factor remains to be examined before any conclusive statement can be made. This factor was the Government's attitude towards education.

It has already been pointed out that the Government was tardy in coming to the aid of education in Southern Nigeria. It was even less enthusiastic about introducing a new form of education into the North where an extensive educational system was already established in the Moslem areas. It looked with much apprehension on the efforts of the missionaries to penetrate into the Moslem stronghold. The official explanation for this attitude was that "as a result of the pledges given during the period of pacification it was impossible to admit Missions into the Emirates without consent of the Emirs."<sup>23</sup> It was held that to allow the Christian missionaries to propagate their faith would be tantamount to a breach of the old promises, treaties and pledges

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<sup>22</sup>These area and population figures are given in Imperial Education Conference Papers. Northern Nigeria, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>Phillipson & Holt, op. cit, p. 26.



with the Emirs. The plausibility of this official statement falls down when it is examined in the light of other official statements. For example, it was Lugard himself who made it plain that the British Administration in the Protectorate was under no further obligations to respect the old treaties.

The old treaties are dead--you have killed them. Now these are the words which I, the High Commissioner, have to say for the future. The Fulani in old times, under Dan Fodio, conquered the country. They took the right to rule over it, to levy taxes, to depose kings and to create kings. They in turn have by defeat lost their rule, which has come into the hands of the British.<sup>24</sup>

Opposition to the Missions--there certainly was--but these were not insurmountable as shown by the C. M. S. entry into Zaria city and into Bida. Before the C. M. S. headquarters was moved into Zaria city permission was sought from the Government.

Before granting permission for this move, the Governor instructed the Resident to inquire of the Emir if he had any objection to a Mission station being established in his capital, and to explain that the attitude of the Government was, in religious matters, entirely neutral.<sup>25</sup>

The approval was duly given by the Emir and it was recorded that "the Mission has done much valuable medical work in the town and neighbourhood, and is looked upon with much respect by the inhabitants."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>F. L. Shaw (Lady Lugard), *A Tropical Dependency*, 2nd Imp. (London: James Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1906), p. 451.

<sup>25</sup>Orr, pp. 261-62.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 262.





There was also the case of the town of Bida where the Moslem ruler had taken the initiative to invite the C. M. S. to carry out its work there. In the school which the Mission opened there was "a special class for the instruction of the educated Mohammedans in reading and writing Hausa in Roman characters."<sup>27</sup>

While these two instances by themselves do not prove any point, they at least illustrate the fact that even the Moslem suspicion of the Christian missionaries could be overcome, especially, if they saw what benefits could be derived from such ancillary services as medical care which the Missions were ready to provide.

The benefit of training a small cadre of local people to take over some of the work of administration seemed obvious but, except for the one school in Kano, nothing was done about this. This neglect lends support to the theory that Lugard, who was the central figure in the Administration of Northern Nigeria during the period under study, did not like to have educated natives in the North. It would appear that the educated natives of the South did not play the role of the submissive and inarticulate. Not only did they forsake the tribal ways of life, they challenged the right of the British to govern all. In the North, Lugard had carefully worked out his ideas of Native Administration. In his scheme there was no place for the highly educated native who was not the son or relative of a chief. In his Annual Reports for the years 1900-1911, he has been credited with the statement that "the premature

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.



teaching of English...inevitably leads to utter disrespect for British and native ideals alike, and to a denationalized and disorganized population."<sup>28</sup>

Thus it may be inferred that the very limited scale of western education in the North was a calculated attempt to contain the situation in the South in which the educated youths were inclined to express greater dissatisfaction and the vent nationalist sentiments. A similar situation in the North might have constituted a real threat to Lugard's pet scheme of Indirect Rule.

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<sup>28</sup>F. D. Lugard, Annual Reports, Northern Nigeria, 1900-1911, p. 135, cited by Coleman, p. 137.



PART TWO

PERIOD OF INCREASED GOVERNMENT  
PARTICIPATION AND CONTROL





## CHAPTER IV

### EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1913-1940

#### General Educational Provisions

The appointment in 1912 of Sir Frederick Lugard as Governor for both the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria and the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, paved the way for the logical amalgamation of the British Administrations in those territories. Education, however, continued to be administered separately in the two territories. Lugard exerted his personal influence on educational policy in both the North and the South. Above all, he sought a more systematized control of the development of education.

In his Report on the Amalgamation he noted that:

In 1913 the average attendance at Government schools in the South was about 4,600, and in the assisted mission schools about 12,500. To these must be added a number of pupils vaguely estimated at from 20,000 to 30,000 in unassisted schools, which were not only under no control or inspection by Government, but of whose very numbers or existence the Government has no precise information...The cost of the Government schools was about £12,500, and of the grants to, and inspection of schools, about £15,300. The net amount spent on education from revenue in the Southern Provinces and Colony in 1913 stood at £30,915 being 1.16 per cent of the ordinary revenue.<sup>1</sup>

Lugard was also dissatisfied with the very limited control which the Government exercised over the assisted schools. He wrote:

Of the total number of pupils attending schools probably

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<sup>1</sup>Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation, p. 59.



one-tenth were in Government schools, three-tenths in mission assisted schools, in which the conditions of the grant code (Which referred chiefly to examination subjects and buildings) had to be observed, and six-tenths in unassisted schools.<sup>2</sup>

By 1914 Lugard had found it necessary to prepare a new Education Ordinance which would embody general principles whose application it was hoped would redress the adverse effects which the existing form of education seemed to have produced.<sup>3</sup> The Ordinance addressed itself specifically to two problems:

(a) How to promote a better standard of discipline, self control and integrity, combined with educational qualifications more adequate to the demands of the State and of commerce.

(b) How to increase the output so as to keep pace with the demands.<sup>4</sup>

The demands of the State were for "clerks, accountants, commercial agents, dispensers, dressers, sanitary and other inspectors, guards, stationmasters and others with a good knowledge of English and accounting."<sup>5</sup> The Report elaborated thus:

There are about 2,500 posts under the Government with salaries between £60 and £300 per annum, and about 2,000 from £24 to £60, with perhaps an additional 1,000 among commercial firms, aggregating in salaries about £500,000 a year. Yet the number of candidates who succeed in passing the easy entrance examination for clerical appointments

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 61. The details of the Ordinance are from the Report on the Amalgamation.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.





steadily decreases, and fell from 51 in 1910 to only 17 in 1914, and these figures include boys from other colonies. Mr. Carr estimates that the output of these secondary schools is from 200 to 300 at the most.<sup>6</sup>

The Ordinance drafted by Lugard and his aides embodied seven general principles. They were:

1. That the main object of all schools should be "the formation of character and habits of discipline;"
2. That the value of religion and moral instruction should be recognized and used for attaining the main object;
3. That the teacher-pupil ratio should be adequate and teachers be properly qualified;
4. That educational agents should co-operate to adopt similar methods of discipline and instruction;
5. That continuation and evening classes for training teachers be encouraged;
6. That Government should exercise control over all types of schools;
7. That teaching should be adapted to the future needs of the pupils.

These seven principles were to be applicable to both the Northern and Southern territories alike.<sup>7</sup>

The Ordinance provided for the establishment of Boards of

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 62.



Education in the North and in the South and also for a School Committee in every province. In respect of grants:

The Regulations prescribe that the grant to assisted schools should no longer be based on fixed percentages of marks obtained in an annual examination in certain set subjects, but should be awarded approximately as to 30 per cent, for tone, discipline, organization and moral instruction, as to 20 per cent for adequacy and efficiency of staff, as to 40 per cent on the result of periodical examinations and general progress, and as to 10 per cent for buildings, equipment and sanitation.<sup>8</sup>

For the successful operation of the Ordinance, the Government identified three distinctive types of education which it sought to promote. The first was the literary training for appointments in which a good knowledge of English and arithmetic was essential. The second type of education was technical and manual training of mechanics and other workshop hands. The third type was rural, consisting of the teaching of a craft and such basic education as was "suitable for those who purpose to live their own village life."<sup>9</sup>

Three kinds of schools were to be established to give the different types of education. To give literary training to teachers, clerks, accountants and similar functionaries, a Government school was to be established in each provincial capital. These schools were to be under the management of British schoolmasters and were to be, in so far as possible, boarding institutions. Games were to be encouraged and continuation and evening classes were to be provided for special instruction

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 63.





in such extra-curricular subjects as agriculture, forestry, survey, teacher-training, provided, of course, that a sufficient number of students enrolled in each class.

Technical and manual training were to be given to batches of students in Departmental schools. As this kind of training was already being given in a number of Departments such as the Railways, the Marines and the Public Works Departments, the object of the new scheme was to improve and systematize the existing apprenticeship training. Moreover, opportunities were to be provided for theoretical training and the improvement of literary accomplishments of the trainees.

The training of craftsmen was to be done in specially established rural schools. Such training was aimed at "the peasantry who do not seek either a literary education to qualify as clerks, etc., or a technical training for power driven workshops."<sup>10</sup>

The Ordinance became the Education Code of 1916. For its operation, the existing Government schools were reclassified. The King's College already met the standard required for giving the literary education. The schools at Bonny and Warri were to be reorganized to conform with the new concepts of the provincial schools. The development of rural schools, on the whole, failed to take place partly because there were no teachers available and partly because the desire for this kind of education was grossly over-estimated. There was also the need to re-deploy the great part of the Government's efforts towards meeting Nigeria's

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid.





quota of War requisitions. There was thus a temporary halt in control and development. The end of the War brought about a change which has been described in the following words:

The dominant features of the years immediately following the first World War was the rapid increase in the number of unassisted schools. Thus, in 1922, the number of elementary schools under Government supervision (Government and Assisted schools) is stated to have been 195, attended by nearly 28,000 children; and the number of registered unassisted elementary schools was 2,432, attended by 122,000. There were, however, probably many unassisted schools which had not been registered. The Education Report for 1926 gives the number of unassisted schools for that year at 3,578 with an enrolment of 146,700 and an average attendance of 96,600 but at the same time stresses the unreliability of the figures owing to the incompleteness of the returns received by the Missions. The precise figures, however, are of less importance than the fact that the schools had multiplied so rapidly as to be beyond the effective supervision and control of many of the Agencies which had sponsored them in answer to local demands and utterly beyond the power of the Education Department, strengthened though the Department was during the post-war years, to inspect or indeed supervise in any way.<sup>11</sup>

### Secondary Education

The great increase in educational activity was confined mainly to the primary grades. Secondary education had a much slower development. In 1923, for example, only ten secondary schools were on the Assisted List. The schools concerned were:

1. C. M. S. Grammar School, Lagos
2. Wesleyan Boys' High School, Lagos
3. St. Gregory's College, Lagos

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<sup>11</sup>Phillipson & Holt, pp. 17-18.



4. St. Mary's Convent, Lagos
5. Abeokuta (C. M. S.) Grammar School, Abeokuta
6. Ijebu Ode (C. M. S.) Grammar School, Ijebu Ode
7. Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar
8. Oritsha Waterside School, Oritsha
9. Ibadan (C. M. S.) Grammar School
10. C. M. S. Girls' Seminary, Lagos

The combined pupil enrolment in all the ten schools was only 230. In 1914 four more schools were added to the Assisted List. The new additions were:

11. C. M. S. Girls' High School, Ijebu Ode
12. Elekuro Boarding School, Ibadan
13. Duke Town School, Calabar
14. Ondo (C. M. S.) Boys' High School

Altogether in 1924 there were 343 Government, 89 Assisted, and 2,624 Unassisted Schools of all grades.<sup>12</sup>

### Teacher Education

The first half of the period covered in this chapter at least shows that some thought was being given by the Government to the placing of teacher-training on a proper footing. The Government was, however, still without a teacher-training college of its own and among the Mission institutions that trained teachers, only the Hope Waddell

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<sup>12</sup>Nigeria. Annual Report on the Education Department. Southern Provinces and Colony, 1923 (Lagos: The Government Printer), p. 12.





Institute received financial aid from the Government. In 1915 Normal Departments were added to the schools in Bonny and Warri, and in that year the R. C. M. opened a new training college at Igbariam. The college was short lived. It was closed down just four years after its founding.

In 1919 St. Andrew's College, Oyo, came on the Assisted List and two years later, both Wesley College, Ibadan and the United Free Church Training Institute, Akpap, were added. The R. C. M. Training College at Ibadan was approved for grants in 1923.

TABLE XII

## EXAMINATION RESULTS, SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1913-1923

Year	Civil Service		Cambridge Local		Teachers' Certificates	
	Entries	Passes	Entries	Passes	Entries	Passes
1913	351	78	36	20	43	24
1914	175	29	53	27	51	39
1915	292	251	63	--	117	52
1916	280	30	110	45	151	44
1917	198	54	109	--	250	72
1918	308	42	143	41	245	51
1919	255	49	94	39	256	138
1920	254	131	110	39	274	118
1921	537	176	137	52	312	214
1922	927	70	303	121	335	183
1923	947	123	286	85	391	190

Source: Annual Report, 1923, p. 10.

-- There were no results for 1915 and 1917 owing to loss of Examination papers at sea during the War.



The Education Department Report for the year 1923 showed that the sum of L3,000 was paid in grants to seven teacher training colleges. The Report showed that 77 of the 104 candidates who sat for the 3rd Class Teacher's Certificate Examination were successful. The Report also pointed out that:

It was by no means easy to obtain suitable youths willing to go through a two years' course of training, for the reason that when they had finished their contract as pupil teachers and passed the prescribed examinations they found no difficulty in obtaining immediate employment as assistant teachers.<sup>13</sup>

The Report commented on the unsatisfactory nature of the pupil-teacher system. It pointed out that the pupil-teacher, after a whole day's teaching in the school, was in no condition to give of his best (as he was expected to do) in private study. The results of this was that:

At the end of his two years service, his general attainments are less than would have been the case had he continued his school education for the same period. It is hoped that in due course the pupil-teacher of today will be superseded by youths who have had some secondary education and intend to take up teaching as a profession.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 2-3.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.



TABLE XIII  
THE PROVISION OF TEACHER TRAINING FACILITIES  
IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1923

Institution	Denomination	Students No.
Warri	Government	16
Bonny	Government	24
Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar	United Free Church of Scotland	52
St. Andrew's College, Oyo	C. M. S.	52
Training College, Awka	C. M. S.	21
Wesley College, Ibadan	Wesleyan Methodist	20
R. C. M. Training Institute Ibadan	R. C. M.	6
C. M. S. Girls' Seminary Lagos	C. M. S.	12
Akpap Training Institute	United Free Church	9
		212

Source: Annual Report, 1923, p. 2.

#### The 1926 Code

The next important landmark in the history of education in Southern Nigeria was the 1926 Education Code. The main object of the Code was to control the rash of new, ill-equipped and badly organized schools which had sprung up since the end of the First World War.

The Code prescribed that:





1. Only such persons as have been enrolled on the Teachers' Register shall be permitted to teach in the schools.
2. No new school shall be opened without approval from the Director of Education.
3. The Board of Education shall be empowered to close any schools which have not been properly managed, if after inspection and due warning, the defects have not been rectified.

The 1926 Code was a distinctive improvement on the earlier ones. The functions of School Supervisors and Inspectors were defined clearly.

The old rigid system of assessing the schools for efficiency under the categories of 'fair', 'good', and 'very good' was replaced by classification as A, B, C, and D. The rules for computing the grades were to be left to the discretion of the Inspector.

Under previous Codes the functions of the Board of Education had been vague. The 1926 Code assigned definite duties and powers to the Board with regard to inefficient schools.

There were also welcome changes with regard to grants. The premium hitherto placed on the size of a school (at the expense of quality) was removed.

The effect of the Code was to whittle down the number of unassisted schools from 3,578 in 1926 to 2,432 in 1929. It is significant to note that the corresponding decrease in the number of schools did not lead to a corresponding decrease in the enrolment. Total attendance during this period only fell from 97,000 to 82,000, thus, in fact, showing an increase in the attendance of the remaining schools. At the same time the quality



of a number of schools improved and the number on the Assisted List grew from 192 to 270 during the same period. Government expenditure also rose from £35,390 in 1925-26 to £99,530 in 1929.<sup>15</sup>

TABLE XIV  
THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1929

Kind of Institution	Number	Sponsoring Agency	Enrolment	
			Boys	Girls
Primary School	49	Government	9,649	1,000
	16	Native Administration		
	269	Assisted	36,780	10,050
	2,440	Unassisted	72,250	8,874
Secondary School	2	Government	142	39
	17	Assisted	442	11
Teacher Training Colleges	4	Government	90	--
		Others	375	41

Source: Annual Report, 1929, p. 31.

In the Report for the Year, 1929, H. W. McGowan, the Assistant Director of Education commented:

Such secondary education as there exists has been limited by the adherence of all the authorities to the syllabuses for the Cambridge and Oxford Examinations--success in which appears to be considered the only criterion of excellence--and by the fact that no attempt is made to bring their work into closer relation with particular needs.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Phillipson & Holt, p. 21.

<sup>16</sup>Annual Report on the Education Department, 1921, Northern and Southern Provinces for the Year 1929 (Lagos: The Government Printer), p. 50.





The Economic Depression and Nigerian Education

The steady expansion of the Assisted List and the consequent increase in Government expenditure on education after the 1926 Code came into operation, came to an end in the nineteen thirties because of the world-wide economic depression. Late in the year 1930 the Governor of Nigeria set £85,000 as the limit of the sum payable to the schools in annual grants. This restriction was to be applied for three years only, but as the economic conditions did not improve it was extended to five. The actual grant for the 1934-35 fiscal year even fell to £78,196. This was followed by a temporary rise in expenditure to £107,047.

If the state of the Government education service was poor, that of the voluntary educational agencies was a good deal worse.

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF BOYS RECEIVING SECONDARY EDUCATION  
IN SOUTHERN NIGERIA, 1926-1929

Year	Number of Pupils
1926	358
1927	592
1928	612
1929	632

Source: Annual Report, 1929, p. 51.



TABLE XVI  
STATISTICS FOR GIRLS' SCHOOLS, 1926-1929

Year	Number of Schools	Enrolment	Number of Boarders
1926	14	2,380	482
1927	17	2,661	694
1928	17	2,859	758
1929	19	2,826	898

Source: Annual Report, 1929, p. 52.

An examination of the statistics for educational expenditure during the depression years revealed a state of worsening financial provisions in the face of the mounting volume of educational work. A comparison of the figures for the years 1931-32 and 1938-39 is particularly illuminating:

TABLE XVII  
EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES IN NIGERIA, 1931-32 and 1938-39

	Year 1931-32	Year 1938-39
Actual Expenditure	£271,076	£269,152
Number of Schools	3,060	4,414
Number of Scholars	190,000	330,180

Source: Annual Report, 1938, p. 8.

The 1938 Annual Report also stated that:

In spite of a large increase in the number of schools and



scholars, there is less money and less staff available. This has resulted in cuts in the salaries of Mission teachers, and caused a steady flow of trained and competent men from teaching to more lucrative professions. The Government Inspecting staff has reduced while reduction in the transport votes have curtailed touring and resulted in insufficient inspection.<sup>17</sup>

This rather unsatisfactory state of affairs led the Board of Education to pass a resolution to:

Draw the attention of Government to the pressing need for the further expansion of educational facilities in Nigeria. It would appear from Lord Hailey's survey that this country is in the invidious position of providing fewer opportunities in regard to elementary education than any other British Possession in Africa, although it is obvious from the results achieved by individuals that the youth of Nigeria is by no means lacking in educable capacity.<sup>18</sup>

The Board was fully aware of the dilemma of the economic conditions within the country and the world at large and of the disastrous consequences which would follow the inability to meet the costs of new schools and the payment of increases in teachers' salaries. The grim prospects with which the decade opened were made even grimmer by the dark clouds of war in which the country as a British Colony was fully involved. It was a desperate and frustrated Director of Education who wrote in 1940 that,

The present position is deplorable. For the last six years the grants-in-aid vote has been static, but there has been such a demand for education for the mass of the people that the Missions have been forced to open hundreds of new schools without any assistance from the Government or the Native

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<sup>17</sup>Annual Reports, 1938, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup>Lord Hailey, African Survey (London: Oxford University Press, 1936).





Administrations...salaries of experienced and well-trained teachers could no longer be paid and they have had to make way for untrained men on far lower salaries...inevitably there has been much loss of efficiency and there is still an insistent clamour for new schools which the Missions are not in a position to provide.<sup>19</sup>

The condition of the schools had become so bad that late in 1940 the Governor sent a dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies applying for aid under the newly created Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. The amount the Governor requested was a modest £26,000 to enable the Nigerian Government to make grants for the improvement of the conditions of teachers in Mission schools, to put them on salary scales that they would have been on if they had received their annual salary increments since 1937. This application for a grant was refused because, in the opinion of the Secretary, the system of grants operating for the schools in Nigeria lacked adequate safeguards and what the situation really revealed was the Government's inability to exercise effectively, its control over the expansion of educational services. The Secretary also made it clear that if any future application was to be made it stood little chance of approval unless it was accompanied by "a systematic plan of development over a period of years by stages."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Cited by Philipson & Holt, p. 32.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.



## CHAPTER V

### EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1913-1940

#### The General Condition of Education

As recorded in Chapter III, the state of education in Northern Nigeria was far behind that of the Southern Provinces in 1912. The uneven pace of developments in the two parts of the country continued and became more marked during the period 1913-1940. Of this period, a later Government report commented:

There was as yet no popular demand for Western education in the North. Instead even at the present time the demand is, over wide areas, confined to the ruling and educated classes. The absence of demand had at least the advantage that no schools were opened until trained teachers were available to staff them, and the southern problem of numerous schools operating without trained staff has not therefore arisen.<sup>1</sup>

In 1914 there were seven Government schools with a staff of twenty-six Europeans and thirty-five Africans. The British staff in the Education Department were used principally for the provincial schools which came into being as a result of the 1916 Code. There were also two inspectors for the mission schools. The Department had one main problem.

The great difficulty here is to train native teachers, for it is of essential importance that these should be drawn from the local population, and that in the Moslem Provinces they should be Mohammedans. This task must take precedence of the

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<sup>1</sup>Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Period 1st January, 1950 to 31st March, 1951 (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1952), p. 9.





training of clerks and others--urgently as these latter also are needed--for the Northern Province does not at present supply a single clerk or artisan for the Government service from its intelligent population.<sup>2</sup>

By the end of 1917 provincial schools had been established in all but two of the Northern Provinces. Two additional schools were also opened at Gwando and Katsina. The total average attendance in government schools was 750 in 1916. The native staff had also risen to sixty-three.

The development of rural schools which the 1916 Code proposed still awaited the availability of staff.

### Katsina College

In order to meet the needs for teachers, a training college was opened at Katsina in 1921. The College took in pupils from the provincial schools to undergo a four year course. At the end of their training, they were expected to go back to teach in the Native Administration schools. In 1927 a new preparatory class was added to the College. This class was intended for boys who would eventually be trained as dispensers in the Medical Department. In 1930 it was suggested that the offerings of the College be expanded so that it could be a Northern counterpart to the newly opened Yaba College. There was indeed an extension of the scope of the College but the idea of bringing it to Yaba standards was abandoned as impracticable. Besides serving as a teacher training centre, the College also provided recruits for the Samaru Agricultural Experimental Station. At the Station, training was given as agricultural

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<sup>2</sup>Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation, p. 64.



inspectors. Increasingly, too, the Native Administrations began to look up to the College to produce the young men to fill their most important posts.

In 1938 the Katsina College was removed to Kaduna. The following table shows the distribution of the students it had trained by that date:

TABLE XVIII

PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS AT KADUNA COLLEGE  
BY THE 31st MARCH, 1938

Province	1938	Total, 1921-1938
Adamawa	7	26
Bauchi	5	24
Benue	4	11
Bornu	13	47
Ilorin	8	25
Kabba	2	10
Kano	7	47
Katsina	10	35
Niger	10	40
Sokoto	8	40
Zaria	3	33
Total	77	338

Source: Annual Report, 1938, p. 20.

By 1940 Kaduna College had ceased to be mainly a teacher training institution. The students who graduated in that year were sent into further training or employment as follows:

To the Public Works Department School	2
To the Agricultural School	4
To the Veterinary School	4



To the Forestry Department	3
To Pharmacy School, Yaba	3
To Native Administration Employment	1

#### Other Educational Institutions

Although the Katsina (Kaduna College) was the most important educational institution which was developed during this period, other aspects of education received some attention too. In the field of teacher training, elementary training schools were established at Katsina and Bauchi. For the supply of teachers to the non-Moslem areas another training centre was opened at Toro on the Jos Plateau.

#### Amalgamation of the Education Departments, 1929

Although the Northern and Southern Provinces had come under an administrative amalgamation in 1914, certain of the Government Departments, notably the Education Department, continued to be administered separately. Although the 1916 Code was applicable to the two parts, special provisions were made for its interpretation for the predominantly Moslem North. It was not until 1929 that the direction of education was brought under one Department. At that date the state of the Education Department in the North was summarized as follows:





TABLE XIX  
THE SCHOOLS IN NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1929

Number of Schools	Kind of Schools	Sponsoring Agency	Enrolment
95	Elementary	Native Admin.	3,549
8	Crafts	Native Admin.	
12	Primary	Native Admin.	
1	Kaduna College	Government	
152	Elementary	Missions	4,446

Source: Table was compiled from Phillipson & Holt, pp. 20-30.

The actual cost to Government of the educational organization in the Northern Provinces in the financial year 1929-30 was £54,650, of which amount only £391 was expended on grants-in-aid.<sup>3</sup>

### Girls' Education

One significant development during the nineteen thirties was an attempt to introduce girls' education. The Moslems' aversion to the education of the boys in a system which was foreign was strong enough, and their attitude towards the public education of girls was one of even stronger disapproval. On the other hand, the Government was aware that some education for the girls was both desirable and essential. The first Northern girls' school was opened at Ilorin in 1928 under the supervision

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<sup>3</sup>Phillipson & Holt, p. 30.



of a British Woman Education Officer. Two years later, similar schools were opened at Kano and Katsina. Argungu, Sokoto and Birnin-Kebbi made cautious follow-ups. By 1936, the number of Moslem girls in attendance at various schools was 600. In the non-Moslem areas, the girls attended the same school as the boys.

A second educational development which also took place in the thirties was the transformation of the central or provincial schools into Middle Schools. Crafts were added to the curriculum and the whole standard was upgraded to that of junior secondary schools. The Middle Schools constituted the main source of supply of the clerks, artisans and other employees required by the NAs and it remained true until the late fifties that the completion of the four year Middle School course carried with it the certainty of finding employment in the Government or the NAs.

The third development was an attempt to use the Koranic Schools (there were some 30,303 of them, with an estimated enrolment of about 381,536 in 1929) for spreading the knowledge of the three Rs. The attempt met with indifferent success and it was abandoned after a few years.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid.





## CHAPTER VI

### A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL AIMS AND FUNCTIONS IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION, 1913-1940

The nature and scope of educational activities in both Northern and Southern Provinces of Nigeria, during this period, can be interpreted as consisting of a response to the professed aims of the main educational agencies--the Government (including the Native Administrations), and the Missions. Reactions to these aims produced a set of latent functions which in turn triggered off reactions within Nigeria's social and economic framework.

First, it will be seen that this was a period of increased Government participation in the educational enterprise. This tendency was in marked contrast to the earlier period, 1842-1912, when the Missions had a virtual monopoly of education in all parts of the country. The Government entry into the educational field was aimed at the achievement of a set of objectives which Lugard had identified as the promotion of a higher standard of discipline, self-control and integrity among the indigenous peoples--as well as the attainment of educational standards and qualifications for employment in the State services and in the service of commerce and industry.<sup>1</sup>

The objectives themselves were set by the Government as a corrective measure to the increasing dissatisfaction which high ranking

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<sup>1</sup>Lugard, Report on the Amalgamation, p. 48.



Government officials and other influential individuals had expressed with regard to the young people who had been educated in the existing (mainly Mission) schools. The Secretary of State for the Colonies was reported as describing the results of the educational system as "very unsatisfactory."<sup>2</sup> The use of the same condemnatory term was also credited to the Senior Inspector of Education for Lagos, Henry Carr, himself a Nigerian. Lugard, who was Governor-General of Nigeria from 1914 to 1919, and who was responsible for the 1916 Code wrote that "education seems to have produced discontent, impatience of any control, and an unjustified assumption of self importance in the individual."<sup>3</sup> Also much quoted was the indignant expression of Sapara Williams, Senior Native Member of the Legislative Council. He was reported to have declared in 1914 at a public meeting in Lagos "that the indiscipline and vanity of the young men produced by the schools had become so intolerable that parents were considering discussing the withdrawal of their sons."<sup>4</sup>

It was to counter all these undesirable tendencies that Lugard regarded as the primary object of the schools the formation of character and the habits of discipline.

The remedy which Lugard prescribed was the provision of religious

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.





and moral instruction in the schools. That Lugard should have made some mistake because he was not a professional educator would be readily granted, but that a man of his varied background and considerable experience could have suggested such a naive solution was difficult to comprehend. If the products of the schools were vain and undisciplined, it was probably due more to external influence than to the content of the curriculum. The pupils and their teachers lived under conditions in which their ways of life were being challenged by new material values and a new religion. There was a paucity of good examples to follow. The British administrators whom they knew, extolled book learning and placed the book trained person above everyone else. It might also be pointed out that the education they received familiarized them with such concepts as democracy, rights of the individual and the dignity of Man. They probably saw no reason why the acceptance of these concepts were not applicable in Nigeria.

Lugard appeared to dislike the products of the Southern schools and so he sought to produce better results by limiting still further the educational aims of the North. It will be recalled that the proposed technical institute at Kaduna intended to insulate the Northern youths from contact with the considerable body of aliens whose jobs they were to be trained to take over. The Government admitted that the expansion in the railways, the harbour works and the commercial fields offered considerable opportunities and created "an enormous and increasing demand for clerks, accountants, commercial agents, dispensers, dressers, sanitary and other inspectors, guards, station masters and others with a good





knowledge of English and accountancy."<sup>5</sup> These were the positions that offered well-paid employment, security and escape from the hard, relatively unrewarding life of the peasant farmer. Yet, the Government assumed that there were many who would have chosen, if they had other choices, to 'live their own life.' A basic form of rural education was prescribed for such people.

The rural education scheme was a failure because there were neither teachers nor willing pupils. In the North the expected class of efficient, trained and contented peasants failed to emerge and in the South the material advantages to be gained from a few years of formal education were so great that the demand for schools exceeded the supply of staff and equipment.

On the matter of the pace of growth of education in the South, the Government effort to keep it under control was largely a failure. It was a failure because it was an attempt to exercise rights without accepting full responsibility. Lugard in his reports and in the Annual Reports on the Education Department, repeatedly pointed out that only a very small percentage of the budget was devoted to education. To get on the Assisted List was extremely difficult as shown by the very large number of unassisted schools. The Government was not even able to budget for an adequate inspecting staff. Thus the degree of control instituted in 1926 was observed more in its breach.

Government attempt at control and supervision broke down almost

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 61.



completely during the depression. The votes for aid to assisted schools remained static for many years and the number of pupils enrolled in the schools had more than trebled. The inability of the Missions to pay their best teachers led to a mass exodus from the teaching profession. The consequent lowering of standards and the spiraling school enrolment meant that many of the young people could not meet the minimum requirements for a job in the Government Departments or in the commercial firms. Those who found themselves without the jobs to which they thought their education entitled them were more ready to turn willing ears to the tirade of the press, the intellectuals and the political aspirants who questioned the rights, legitimacy and morality of the existence of foreign government on Nigerian soil.<sup>6</sup>

A significant example of latent function in Nigerian education was provided by the case of the Yaba College. Yaba represented low standards and lack of recognition. The political leaders and the intellectuals formed the Lagos Youth Movement with the avowed intention of keeping alive the public's protest against the College's low status. It was out of the Movement that the Nigerian Youth Movement (the forerunner of the present political parties) grew.

For the various missionary societies, this period was one of serious heart-searching of aims and objectives. They too were concerned about the latent function that their schools were performing. The heart-searching in Nigeria was not, of course, an isolated process. A series

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<sup>6</sup>"Giving the African a Square Deal," The Nigerian Daily Times, Monday 3rd, February, 1930. p. 4.





of conferences were called to deliberate matters on a global basis. The first of these conferences, and perhaps the most important, was the International Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910. The Conference reappraised the purpose of the Christian Mission and the part that the schools were playing and could play. The result of the Conference was a resolution for closer inter-denominational co-operation and the setting up of an organ and secretariat to act as clearing house for information and views on developments in the Mission field.

The greater awareness of the possibilities which Mission education was capable of generating, both for social engineering and for social disintegration, focussed new attention to the problems of Africa after the First World War. The Phelps Stokes Commission was appointed in 1920 to meet the long felt "need of a thorough survey of conditions there with a view to making their efforts more effective on the educational side."

The five man Commission, under the chairmanship of Dr. Jesse Jones, had for its general terms of reference: "To study the educational needs of Africa, especially those pertaining to the hygienic, economic, social and religious conditions of the Native people."<sup>7</sup>

The Commission was charged with five specific duties:

1. To enquire as to the educational work being done at present in each of the areas to be studied.

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<sup>7</sup>Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund), p. 12.



2. To investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of the religious, social, hygienic, and economic conditions.
3. To ascertain to what extent these needs are being met.
4. To assist in the formulation of plans designed to meet the educational needs of the Native races, making adequate use of the Native resources and providing for the present and prospective demands of the country itself.
5. To make available the full results of this study.<sup>8</sup>

The Commission visited Nigeria and as a result of the reports and addresses submitted to it and conferences with missionary bodies, administrators and its own on-the-spot observations, it made the following recommendations with respect to Nigerian education:

1. That all concerned distinguish clearly the educational needs, namely, the education of the masses of the people, the training of teachers and leaders for the masses, and the preparation of professional men who must pass the conventional requirements of British Universities.
2. That the education of the masses and their teachers be determined by the following elements, namely, health, ability to develop the resources of the country, household arts, sound recreation, rudiments of knowledge, character development, and community responsibility. The Native Teachers should also have access to the great truths of physical and social sciences, the inspiration of history and literature.
3. That the school system in each province provide a central teacher training school with boarding pupils, community centre schools with some boarding facilities, local day schools with effective activities in the community and travelling supervisors to direct, advise and inspire local teachers.
4. That in areas without schools the government provide for the temporary employment of teachers of lower

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 13.





qualifications on condition that adequate supervision be supplied and facilities for the increased supply of better trained teachers be provided.

5. That the profession of teaching receive some form of government recognition in addition to a living wage, so that the profession may attract capable youth and also exert a great influence on community life.
6. That the education of women and girls receive much more serious consideration both as to quality and quantity. Several very good schools for girls have been described in Part II. The special weakness is in the small proportion of girls in the day schools.
7. That the schools in their community extensions be regarded as centres for transmitting the influences of such government departments as agriculture and health.
8. That the personnel and equipment of the agricultural department be enlarged so that more provisions may be made for the instruction of the small farmers in food production and in general rural improvement.
9. That the co-operation existing between the missions and the government be extended to include the commercial and industrial agencies, so that the full power of the colony may be devoted to improvement of the people.<sup>9</sup>

The Commission travelled widely in the West, Central and East Africa and the general conclusion to which it came was that African education should be planned with regard to the elevation of the masses and the training of Native leaders with the strength of character and sense of responsibility to extend the benefits of education to the people at large.

The view of the Commission were shared by the Education Committee

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 14.





of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland. It was on the basis of the Commission's report that the Committee submitted a memorandum to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1923 recommending greater co-operation between the missionary bodies operating in Africa and also between them and the British Government. Furthermore, the Education Committee of the Conference urged the Government to set up an Advisory Committee on African Education. On June 6th, 1923, a conference was held to consider the memorandum. The outcome of the conference was that the Secretary duly appointed an Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa. The Committee was empowered to:

Advise the Secretary of State on any matters of native education in the British Colonies and Protectorates in Tropical Africa, which he may from time to time refer to, and to assist him in advancing the progress of education in these colonies and protectorates.<sup>10</sup>

The Advisory Committee produced its memorandum in 1925. This was of historic importance because it was the first official policy statement on Colonial Education. In 1929 the scope of the activities of the Committee was widened to include all the dependent territories of Britain.

The Missions' initiative to consider education from the point of view of the African needs was a novel departure from the attitude of the earlier period when local needs and conditions were given little consideration.

In the latter period evangelization remained the primary

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<sup>10</sup>Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2347, (London: H. M. S. O., 1925), p. 1.



objective but henceforth, more serious attention was to be paid to the methods of evangelization. This was clearly expressed at the 1926 Le Zoute Conference of Protestant Missions working in Africa. The general agreement that "Africa will be best evangelized by her own children," was reminiscent of the 1842 view of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society that "a Native Agency for Christianizing Africa" was manifest.<sup>11</sup>

The educational implication of the re-examination of missionary aims and objectives was admirably summed up by J. H. Oldman who declared that besides the "primary necessity inherent in the missionary task there comes today to the Christian Church a loud and stirring call to render a large Christian service to the peoples of Africa in the spheres of education."<sup>12</sup>

The new philosophy of Christian education shifted from the position of total religio-cultural conversion to one which sought to find an answer to such questions as, "How are we to educate the African and yet see to it that we do not take him clean away from his People?"<sup>13</sup>

Several possible lines of action were indicated during the period between the World Wars. There was the approach of the Phelps-Stokes Commission which regarded the concern for health as the funda-

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<sup>11</sup>Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, 1841-1842 (London: C. M. S., 1842), p. 41.

<sup>12</sup>J. H. Oldman, "Christian Education in Africa," Church Missionary Review, CXXX, 1924, p. 307.

<sup>13</sup>A. G. Fraser, "Aim of African Education," The International Review of Mission, XIV, No. 56, October, 1925, p. 514.





mental problem to be tackled in the attempt to adapt education to the lives of the people. The prevalence of diseases, the poor and inadequate standards of housing, diet and sanitation had to be solved to produce the healthy body in which a healthy soul could develop. Secondly, there was the attempt to make agriculture, upon which the life of the community depended, central to any scheme of African education.

There was also the approach which was concerned with the problem of putting a halt to the process of disintegration of tribal organizations, traditional practices and beliefs.

To get reverence for the things that are passing, to show the students the true and good in them and, much more, to get them to look for and find them there, is a great part of the way to success in training true leaders. Without the respect for their traditions, the young are largely cut off from sympathy with the older folk. A separating barrier is raised. The young are homeless in mind and spirit, and the old die. And it is death to the tribe. Continuity, aim, force, are lost to a people when the old and young are thus separated. The tribe is no more an entity; it is like a bisected snake. Both parts can wriggle, but steady advance, ordered life are beyond them.<sup>14</sup>

In Nigeria and elsewhere, little came out of the new probe into the nature and methods of Christian education in Africa partly because of the economic depression which descended on the world in the thirties. Government contribution to education remained static in the face of an ever increasing volume of educational activities. The results were falling standards, frustrations of those who had placed so much hope in the education they were getting and who found no opportunities or

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.



avenues of advancement, and yet had been estranged from their rural or tribal backgrounds.

As if this were not enough, the thirties closed under the dark clouds of a global conflict which reduced to further straits the needs for money, men and equipment to make possible the adoption of a more wholesome policy in Nigerian education.



### PART THREE

### EDUCATION FOR SELF GOVERNMENT





## CHAPTER VII

### EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

One of the grievances frequently and most vehemently expressed by the early nationalists and protest groups in Nigeria, was the lack of opportunities for higher education in the country. A few individuals managed to go abroad to train for the professions of law, medicine, and the Church ministry, but their career opportunities were limited and they were accorded scant recognition by the Government. The need for a steady increase in the number of highly trained Nigerians in all walks of life could not be denied, but no steps were taken until 1930.

The first step in the field of post-secondary education was taken in 1930 with the opening of a Medical School at Yaba, on the outskirts of Lagos. Four years later, the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, formally opened the Yaba Higher College.

The object of the college is to give a training of a university or professional character although, as a great deal of attention will be devoted to the practical side as I shall explain, the courses will not be so wide, especially on the theoretical side, as would be necessary to obtain university or professional qualifications in the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The College offered a five year course (two pre-clinical and three clinical) to selected students who had completed the full secondary course. At the end of the training at the college, the successful

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<sup>1</sup>Donald Cameron, "Higher Education in Nigeria," Overseas Education, VI, No. 1, October, 1934, p. 19.



candidates were not to be recognised as fully trained doctors, but only as medical assistants. In addition to medical training, the college offered a three year course for teachers. The course was designed to produce the men "who will be given an opportunity to specialize and thus equip themselves to take the places of a large proportion of the Europeans now teaching in our middle schools."<sup>2</sup>

There was also a two year theoretical course for agricultural assistants followed by two years of a practical training at the Ibadan experimental station. Similar courses were planned for sub-professional assistants in civil engineering, forestry and veterinary science.

There was an initial proposal to develop the Katsina College in the North into a similar institution, but that proposal was dropped as "it soon became obvious, however, that it was not practicable to develop two institutions to the full extent of a University College."<sup>3</sup>

The College was maintained by the Nigerian Government as an integral part of the Education Department. Its object was, as already stated by Governor Cameron, to train sub-professional assistants. That Nigeria's only centre of Higher Education (which was established grudgingly after years of agitation) should be of lower academic and professional standards, could hardly be expected to satisfy the vehement demands of Nigerians for the best in education. One of the immediate reactions of the educated elite to the establishment of the college was

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>3</sup>Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p. 36.





the formation of the Lagos Youth Movement. The main object of the Movement was to protest against the sub-professional and lower academic status of the Yaba College, and to keep the issue alive and in the attention of the public. The Movement's original aim, however, was soon expanded to include a wider horizon and under the leadership of such men as Ernest Ikoli, Samuel Akinsanya, Dr. J. C. Vaughn and H. O. Davies, it grew into a political movement. In 1936 the Lagos Youth Movement became known as the Nigerian Youth Movement, and during the period, 1938-41, it developed into "Nigeria's first genuine nationalist organization."<sup>4</sup>

The agitation in the cause of Higher Education was not limited to the elevation of the status of Yaba College, it also aimed at bringing pressure to bear upon the Government to institute a scholarship scheme for studies abroad. Little was achieved in the middle of the depression years, but in September, 1939 the Government announced its intention to offer annually, "two or more scholarships to enable suitably qualified students from Nigeria to proceed overseas for further education."<sup>5</sup>

During the first five years of the scheme, however, only four awards were made. Throughout the Second World War opposition to the Government's reactionary policy in higher education was maintained unabated. The deficiency inherent in the administrative system which

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<sup>4</sup>Coleman, p. 218.

<sup>5</sup>Report of the Commission Appointed by His Excellency, the Governor, to make recommendations about the recruitment and training of Nigerians for Senior Posts in the Government Service of Nigeria (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1948), p. 1.



ignored higher education and training of Nigerians for responsible posts became more apparent when most of the expatriate officers were withdrawn for war service elsewhere. Their jobs were in most cases, undertaken by their Nigerian subordinates. The efficiency and thoroughness with which the jobs hurriedly entrusted them were performed increased the confidence of many junior Nigerian officers in their own capabilities and they became more discontented with the Government's denial of opportunities for further training and education.

#### The Parliamentary Commissions on Higher Education

Nigeria was not the only country that suffered the consequences of the lack of a well trained and well educated cadre of local personnel during the War. Other British Colonies and Protectorates were similarly affected. Before the War was over, however, Britain took a number of far reaching steps to re-organize its own educational system at home and to make provision for higher education in her colonies. In 1943 two important commissions were appointed.

The first commission was appointed in June, under the chairmanship of the Honourable Walter Elliot. Its terms of reference were:

To report on the organisation and facilities of the existing centres of higher education in the British West Africa, and to make recommendations regarding future university development in that area.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. Cmd. 6655, June, 1945 (London: H. M. S. O.), p. 19. This Report is hereafter referred to as the Elliot Commission.





The second commission was appointed in August, under the chairmanship of the Honourable Mr. Justice Asquith. Its terms of reference were:

To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies; and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to co-operate with institutions of higher education in the Colonies in order to give effect to these principles.<sup>7</sup>

#### The Asquith Commission

In its Report, the Asquith Commission unanimously recommended the urgent establishment of colonial universities to meet the immediate requirements for,

Men and women who have the standards of public service and capacity for leadership which the progress of self-government demands, and to assist in satisfying the need for persons with the professional qualifications required for the economic and social development of the Colonies.<sup>8</sup>

The Commission's recommendation was a frank recognition of the fact that self-government was a logical goal for the colonies. It also implied the understanding that the final responsibility for the welfare of the future nations would devolve on well educated, capable and responsible leaders within the colonies themselves.

The Commission declared:

In short, we look on the establishment of universities

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<sup>7</sup>Colonial Office, Report on the Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies. Cmd. 6647, 1945 (London: H. M. S. O.), p. 1. This Report is hereafter referred to as the Asquith Commission.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 104.





as an inescapable corollary of any policy which aims at the achievement of Colonial self-government. We believe that there can be no more welcome proof of the sincerity of this policy than the provision at an early date of facilities for university education in the colonies.<sup>9</sup>

To justify the wisdom of placing such high priority in higher education when the needs at the lower levels were so great and so pressing, the Commission pointed out that:

Progress at any level of education is dependent upon progress at other levels, and institutions of higher education are essential if we are to secure teachers in sufficient numbers and of the quality adequate to establish proper standards of teaching in secondary schools and if we are able efficiently to staff the departments of public instruction... the lesson to be drawn from history is quite clear even if at first sight paradoxical; it is that where education as a whole is backward, effort is most rewarding when directed to the higher levels. It may be remembered that the development of universities of Europe preceded the systematic organization of popular education.<sup>10</sup>

The following were some of the important details in the Asquith Commission's recommendations:

- (1) that the colonial universities be residential and that English be the language of instruction;
- (2) that there be a differential pay scale for expatriate teachers and locally recruited staff;
- (3) that research be one of the principal activities of the proposed institution;
- (4) that an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies be created. Its members would include representatives

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 12.



of the British Universities and University Colleges, the Colonial University Colleges and the Educational Advisor to the Colonial Secretary. The Council would act in an advisory capacity only.

The Commission prescribed in detail the features of the internal organization of the proposed institutions--their governing bodies (Senate and Academic Boards), their curriculum and their quality of degrees--which would be those of the University of London, to be obtained under a Scheme of Special Relationship.

#### The Report of the Elliot Commission

Unlike the Asquith Commission which reached a unanimous opinion on all its findings and recommendations, the Elliot Commission submitted two reports, a Main Report and a Minority Report from five of the thirteen members.

The Main Report was divided into two parts. Chapter One of the First Part gave a general introduction to the history, geography and economic conditions of West Africa. Chapter Two outlined the general background to educational developments, with comments on the signal contributions made by the missionaries, the literary character of primary education, the broad functions of the secondary schools and the importance of the school in all the activities of the community. Chapter Three gave a survey of the existing facilities for higher education in West Africa. The existing institutions were Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone, which was founded by the C. M. S. in 1827 and





affiliated to the University of Durham, England. Although Fourah Bay students could take the B.A. Pass Degree of the parent university, much of the work undertaken by the College was concerned with the preparation of non-graduate teachers. The College budget was small, amounting to £3,755 during the 1942-43 year and the highest number of students enrolled in any one year was forty. The College had a library of 3,300 volumes, one-third of which was devoted to religion and philosophy. Most of the students trained at the College went into Church ministry or into the teaching profession.

The Nigerian centre of higher education was next surveyed. As already pointed out, the Yaba College had been established to train sub-professional assistants in the fields of medicine, education, agriculture, veterinary science, forestry and various branches of engineering. At the time of the Commission's visit the College was housed in six blocks of buildings. Three blocks contained the physics, chemistry, biology and engineering laboratories. One was used for administrative offices and the library. The fifth block was for lectures. The sixth block provided residential accommodation for 88 students. The Commission commented "that the design, furnishings and fittings of the laboratories were admirable," and that they were adequate for the work being undertaken.<sup>11</sup>

About 35 to 40 students were annually enrolled at the College out of about 150 who took the competitive entrance examination. The total

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<sup>11</sup>Elliot Commission Report, p. 33.



number of students at the College did not exceed 95 at any one time.

The recurrent expenditure on the College rose from £9,567 during the 1934-35 fiscal year to £16,137 in the 1943-44 year. The larger portion of the money was spent on staff emoluments. A job analysis of the career of the students who had studied at the College showed that about 80 per cent were still engaged in the kinds of jobs for which they were trained.

On the subject of examinations, the Commission remarked that:

While the students at Fourah Bay and Achimota Colleges are prepared for certain of the examinations of Durham and London respectively, the Higher College, Yaba, had discouraged its students from the taking of London external degree examinations. This has been done in order that the curricula in certain subjects might be related to local background and in the hope that, with curricula less restricted by the limits of external examinations, the courses might receive broader treatment.<sup>12</sup>

The Commission while expressing sympathy for the policy of the College, nevertheless observed that:

It has meant for instance, that in contrast to that of the sister colleges, knowledge of its work in Great Britain is extremely limited.

Yet its laboratories and their equipment and the standard reached in its science teaching are the best in British West Africa. Further, the fact that its students receive diplomas which have so far not been recognised outside Nigeria, has given them a sense of frustration, for Nigerian students, like any others, naturally prefer to be measured against the internationally recognised standards of British degree examinations.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.





The desire to achieve the highest standards led many students to attempt, unaided and unencouraged, passes at the various intermediate degree examinations of the University of London. Between 1934 and 1943, 30 students of the College were successful in these private efforts. One of them actually obtained the full Honours degree in History. The Commission pointed out the existence of many private coaching establishments in Lagos as evidence of the very strong desire to achieve external degree standards.

Among the defects which the Commission found in the College's policy and administration were:

- (1) the separation of the students from the College at the practical stages of their training;
- (2) the lack of co-operation between the College and the professional schools to which its students were sent;
- (3) the lack of a Governing Body properly established for the College and the unsatisfactory practice of seconding an appointee of the Education Department to be principal of the College.

The third of the West African institutions surveyed by the Commission was Achimota College on the Gold Coast. Achimota was founded in 1924 under the principalship of A. G. Fraser. He took in pupils from the age of four and prepared them through the intermediate stages of primary and secondary to the university classes.





The initial cost of building Achimota was £600,000 which was paid out of public funds. At the time of the Commission's visit the College had a general library of 16,000 volumes and a special science library and a small museum.

Unlike Yaba College, Achimota was governed by an autonomous council controlling its general policy and property. The College had a staff of 22 of which 19 were university graduates and during 1943, there were 96 men and 2 women in its university department. Of these, 14 came from Nigeria. Students of the university department were prepared for the Intermediate Arts, Science and Economics and the Intermediate and Final engineering degree examinations of the University of London. The suitability of the courses in Arts and in the Classics was questioned by the Commission.

There was a teacher training department which prepared students for teaching at various grade levels.

#### Recommendations for the Future

In Chapter Four, the Main Report dealt with the future of West Africa in higher education. It reiterated the need for "(i) Africans capable of filling responsible posts and administrative posts, (ii) for research workers, (iii) for institutions serving the centres of general culture and learning."<sup>14</sup>

The Commission noted that the demands for skilled and responsible

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 51.



men already outstripped the capacity of the existing institutions of higher education. Of the number from West Africa, 138 came from Nigeria but only 40 of them studied as Government scholars. The rest were private students. The Nigerian Government did not award any scholarships in medicine, agriculture, veterinary surgery and dentistry and only one of the scholars studied education.

The Commission estimated (at the time) that there were, in British West Africa, about 4,000,000 children between the ages of four and fourteen. To provide primary education for them required something like 75,000 teachers. The medical needs were very great. There was only one doctor to every 60,000 people before the War and the total population of British West Africa, which was about 27 million, had only six dentists. On the subject of research needs, the Commission maintained:

It is unquestionable that the peoples of West Africa will be greatly aided by the results of work directed towards West African problems, in health by researches in nutrition, disease and water supplies; in agriculture by researches on crops, soils, pests and systems of cultivation; in economic development by geological survey and research into the processing of local raw products; in the changes of their social order, by economic and demographic surveys and by researches into African history and systems of customary law, and land tenure...Students should also be brought, at the earliest possible stage, into contact with research workers and research methods. The stimulus on students of research work is unquestionable and such an association will help many of them to carry into their working lives the spirit of unprejudiced enquiry.<sup>15</sup>

To meet West Africa's needs for higher education, the Commission recommended that a university be established in each of the three bigger

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54.





territories in West Africa.<sup>16</sup> In the proposed institutions, arts and sciences courses were to be balanced and developed alongside the professional schools. The subjects proposed for inclusion in the curricula were:

#### Arts

English	Philosophy
Modern Languages	Sociology
History	Economics
Geography	Classical Languages (Including Arabic)

#### Sciences

#### Professional Schools

Mathematics	Institute of Education
Physics	Medicine
Chemistry	Dentistry
Botany	Forestry
Zoology	Animal Health
	Engineering and Survey

The Commission was of the opinion that a Faculty of Law was not an urgent necessity.

The proposed professional schools were to be jointly shared by the university colleges and all but the Institute of Education were to be located in the Nigerian University College. The Gold Coast university

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<sup>16</sup>These were Nigeria, Gold Coast and Sierra Leone. The fourth territory was the tiny colony of the Gambia.



was to house the Institute of Education.

The Majority, in putting forward its recommendation, warned that one university institution was inadequate to meet the needs of West Africa.

Fourah Bay, Yaba and Achimota Colleges are regarded by Africans as symbols of future progress. Any steps taken to halt development for a generation of more, would arouse the deepest feelings and evoke great misgivings as to good faith in any territory concerned. These factors, though imponderable, have to be taken seriously into account. African support, African enthusiasm, is an indispensable need if higher education in Africa is to surmount the difficulties which lie before it. It is a universal experience that local patriotism is one of the strongest factors in evoking such support. Steps must be taken which will maintain, in being, all existing facilities which can be developed, now or later, and build on local foundations wherever possible.<sup>17</sup>

This plea was made because a Minority Report was issued by five members of the Commission who favoured the establishment of a single unitary university for British West Africa.

Part II of the Main Report was devoted to details of the organisation of the three proposed university institutions, one in Nigeria, one in the Gold Coast and one in Sierra Leone. The Sierra Leone institution was intended to serve the Gambia as well.

The Main Report maintained that there were enough potential students to justify three instead of just one institution. On the question of buildings, the Commission made it clear that extensive buildings were required in Nigeria. It recommended that the buildings for Achimota be expanded. It also noted that new buildings were required to enable the

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 60.





Fourah Bay College to carry on the work it was already doing. The Commission proposed that the cost of the new buildings be borne jointly by the Territorial Governments and by the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The share of the Territorial Governments was to be increased progressively until they eventually bore the entire cost.

The Commission recommended Ibadan as the location of the Nigerian university. Ibadan (at the time) had a population of nearly 400,000 and was the biggest urban centre in Tropical Africa. It was reasonably near Lagos, the capital and chief port of Nigeria, and it also had plenty of space available for development whereas Lagos was already over-crowded. Ibadan had a small hospital. A new one could be planned along with the proposed Medical School.

Achimota College and Fourah Bay College were to form the nuclei of the new universities in their respective territories.

The Commission took note of the intention of the Asquith Commission to recommend the establishment of an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies and a Committee to advise on financial grants to the new colonial universities. The Elliot Commission welcomed both proposals. For the specific needs of the West African universities the Elliot Commission recommended for each University College, a Board of Governors to exercise general control, a Council to take charge of finance and a Senate to look after academic matters and student discipline. Each faculty was also to have its own Board. It also recommended the setting up of a West African Advisory Council to deal with "the wider organisation of higher education in West Africa and would make recommendations from





time to time concerning the further development of the three colleges."<sup>18</sup>

It was proposed that the Colleges should initially take the degrees of a British university until they had established for themselves a reputation for teaching and research and had also gained experience in university administration.

The initial estimates for the Nigerian institution were between L500-600,000 for buildings and a recurrent annual expenditure of between L62-66,000 in the first five years. The initial estimates for Achimota were about L120,000 in respect of buildings and an annual recurrent expenditure of L49-53,000. The needs of Fourah Bay College were estimated at not more than L100,000 for buildings and an annual budget of L14,000. A quinquennial review of the budget was suggested for each institution.

#### The Minority Report

Five members of the Commission prefaced a second Report with the following explanation:

We are in general agreement with substantial parts of the foregoing Reports to which we have made no small contribution, but with the principles and policies elaborated in Chapter IV we find ourselves in serious disagreement.<sup>19</sup>

The Minority went on to state that:

Our colleagues base their recommendations on the conception that the development of higher education in West Africa will

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 122.



at the moment be most fruitfully furthered by an extension of the scope and activities of the existing institutions towards university status...our proposals are on the contrary founded on the belief that the development of higher education will be best promoted by the formation of a comprehensive West African University College for the whole British West Africa together with a Territorial College in each of the three larger dependencies.<sup>20</sup>

The Territorial Colleges were to provide education up to the Intermediate Arts and Science degree levels and also to train primary school teachers and social workers, to promote adult education and extra-mural services. Thus, the Territorial Colleges were to act as feeders to the university.

The Minority recommendation was made on the grounds that three separate universities were not feasible or advisable because of (i) the insufficiency of qualified applicants for the student places, (ii) the danger of sacrificing quality for quantity and (iii) the need to minimize the danger of wrong emphasis in development plans.

The Minority Group claimed support from the Asantehene of Ashanti, the Gold Coast Youth Conference and the Achimota College Council.

#### Reactions to the Elliot Commission's Report

Both the Main and Minority Reports were presented together in June 1945. The British Government, after due consideration, took the unusual step of accepting the recommendations contained in the Minority Report.

The reactions to this were swift and vehement, particularly in the

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.





Gold Coast. The Gold Coast Government rejected the idea of a unitary West African University. The Legislature passed a unanimous motion to the effect that the Gold Coast was not going to wait for the development and establishment of a university somewhere else. It pleaded with the British Government to approve a separate university for the Gold Coast. The Government and people of Sierra Leone, also, would not consider reducing the status of Fourah Bay College to that of a mere feeder to a West African university to be located elsewhere.

In December 1946 the Inter-University Council sent out a delegation under Sir Hamilton Fyfe to investigate the possibilities of university education in West Africa, in the light of the Elliot Commission's recommendations and the reactions of the West African Governments. The Fyfe Delegation did, in fact, confirm that Achimota College could be developed into a separate university on its own. In August 1947 the Colonial Secretary (Mr. Creech Jones, who was a signatory to the Minority Report) sent a dispatch to the Governor of the Gold Coast indicating that while he still favoured the Minority Report, he was, nevertheless, ready to concede to the Gold Coast Government the right to establish its own university.

### Nigeria's First University

When both the Asquith and Elliot Commissions presented their reports to the British Parliament in the summer of 1945, few people in Nigeria expected any immediate results. When, therefore, immediate steps were taken to implement the recommendations, it was an agreeable surprise to political and educational leaders in the country. This was a time



when Britain was fully engrossed with the problems of post-war reconstruction and planning.

The Inter-University Council was duly established in 1946 and so was the Colonial Universities' Grants Advisory Committee. The Fyfe Delegation reported the urgent need for the proposed university in Nigeria. It suggested that the 56th General Military Hospital at Ibadan be converted to temporary use and that the Yaba College be closed down and its students transferred to Ibadan to form the nucleus of the new university.

In May 1947 Dr. Kenneth Mellanby, a Reader in Entomology at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine was appointed Principal-Designate of the University College. He left for Nigeria a few weeks after his appointment. His instruction was clear and direct. He was to establish the University College as quickly as possible. He received little guidance as to how this was to be done and there was no fund of experience to draw from. He himself wrote of the great problems that faced him in his new task.

There was no governing body, no academic staff, no students and only a rather tenuous link with an advisory body in London. I had to decide when and where the college was to open, and what would be the scope of its work; these earliest decisions, whether they were right or wrong, clearly were of the greatest importance in deciding the course which the college followed in later years.<sup>21</sup>

In Nigeria Mellanby quickly settled down to consult with the Education Department, with the professional men and women and with the

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<sup>21</sup>Kenneth Mellanby, The Birth of Nigeria's University (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 1.





political leaders (the majority of whom, he recalled) were regarded by the British officials as irresponsible agitators.

Mellanby found that the 56th General Military Hospital was unsuitable even for temporary use. There was, however, no other building available and he entrusted the work of conversion to one Jack Hoskins. The Old Yaba Higher College was closed down and 104 students transferred to Ibadan to constitute the embryo of the University College. At the time of the transfer, the 104 Yaba students were enrolled in the following courses:

Arts	17 students
Science	38 students
Teacher-training	21 students
Surveying	28 students

The Medical students were left in Lagos to complete their clinical training. The new University College was formally opened on February 2nd, 1948. The first two terms were spent by Mellanby in organizing a recruitment drive for staff and for planning the work on the permanent site. At its opening the College had no legal status. The Provisional Ordinance setting out the terms and conditions of its existence was not passed until September, 1948. In November of the same year, the Colonial Secretary cut the first sod on the permanent site. During the year 1949 Mellanby was busy with arrangements for the survey of the site and with drawing plans for the buildings and ancillary services such as roads, water and electricity installations.

The University College ran into many difficulties during its first





few years. The need to submit building plans to the Inter-University Council in London caused a good deal of delay. Actual construction work was not able to start until early in 1951. There were financial difficulties too. The Elliot Commission had grossly underestimated costs. Even such preliminary services as the clearing of sites, the installation of water and electricity and the building of roads amounted to almost half of the total sum originally allocated for buildings. Also, Mellanby drew his plan on the assumption that a sum of £2,500,000 would be available from Britain for both the University College and the Medical School. It was not until planning was already well under way that he was made to understand that only £1,500,000 was to be made available from the British Government sources.

The University College's relations with the Nigerian public was not always a happy one. The College was frequently and sometimes intemperately criticized for everything it did. The press and the politicians were anxious that it should offer nothing but the best. The memory and the humiliation which the lower standard of the Old Yaba College stood for were still fresh in the public mind. The public was over-anxious lest the new institution develop along similar lines. The press was indignant when some of the students with London University matriculation requirements were turned out of the College as unfit. This was regarded as undue restriction and a deliberate attempt to stifle the legitimate ambitions of Nigerian youths. The College was criticized for having a Department of Classics and one of Religious Studies when no provisions were made for Faculties of Law, Economics and African Studies.



There was, too, the matter of discriminatory practice in the rates of pay for expatriate and Nigerian members of the staff.<sup>22</sup>

Some of the complaints were indeed justified and timely, but there were others which were un-substantiated rumors and a clear misunderstanding of what a university stood for and on what its policies were based. An example of the kind of irresponsible attacks sustained by the College is this:

We shall take the consolation by the fore-knowledge that our political independence is coming rapidly and that when it comes the University College will be at our mercy just as a potato is at the mercy of a cook.<sup>23</sup>

The College was spending more and more money than was estimated and time and time again the Nigerian Legislature was called upon to come to its aid with supplementary grants. This it did with remarkably good humour though not without some words of censure. Thus, on August 23rd, 1954, The Honourable Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe declared in the Federal House of Representatives:

My humble opinion is that University College, Ibadan, is becoming a million dollar baby. Everytime the baby cries he is given a kiss worth one million pounds, and so the baby has found out that it pays to cry, and crying has become its pastime. I feel that it is time the legislature applied the brake to this tendency towards squandermania.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>This differential pay scale was actually recommended by the Asquith Commission. Its application at University College, Ibadan, was dropped after much public outcry.

<sup>23</sup>Cited from The West African Pilot by Mellanby, p. 241.

<sup>24</sup>Zik-Selected Speeches of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe (London: Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 23.





Academic Problems and Other Problems

One of the earliest decisions which Mellanby made was that the University College should enter into a Scheme of Special Relationship with the University of London so that students at the College could sit for the degree examinations of the University. Another academic problem was that of determining the relative merits of the Honours and the General Degree programmes. The problem was further confused by the fact that the University of London awarded Honours in the B. Sc. General Examinations but not in the B. A. General. To resolve this anomaly, the Arts Faculty Board of the University College, at its first meeting resolved "to approach the University of London with a view to obtaining the consent that honours should be awarded upon the results of the B. A. General examinations."<sup>25</sup>

The University rejected the resolution on the grounds that the three subjects taken at the B. A. General Examinations were not properly integrated.

The establishment of the professional faculties of medicine and agriculture presented many problems. The odium attached to the low status of the Yaba diploma in medicine had to be avoided at all costs. Mellanby himself testified to the fact that a Nigerian doctor who qualified in England "obtained a salary several times that paid to a Nigerian who qualified locally; both undertook exactly similar work."<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>Mellanby, p. 154.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.



Mellanby weighed carefully the alternatives opened to him in the establishment of a new Medical School. There was the easier course of seeking the recognition of the General Medical Council of Great Britain through the preparation of students for the Conjoint Examinations. There was also the route of the more exacting requirements prescribed for the Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery examinations of the University of London. He finally decided in favour of the University's Medical degrees. It was, however, not easy to achieve recognition for these. In 1951 Dr. Hunt was sent out by the University of London to inspect the facilities available for use as a teaching hospital. In his report he indicated that these were not enough, and that a completely new teaching hospital would have to be built if the recognition was to stand a chance of approval. As the funds available for both the University College and Teaching Hospital together were not enough for the College alone, it became obvious that the Hospital could not be built unless it was paid for by the Nigerian tax-payers. When the hospital was finally completed in 1957, every penny of the £5,000,000 which it had cost was paid for by the Nigerian Federal Government.

As part of the Medical School, a Nursing School had been opened in 1952. The standards of the school were immediately recognized by the Central Nursing Council of England and Wales. The long sought for recognition for the London University Medical Degree was granted in 1957 and the first clinical students began training at the new hospital. All but one of the students obtained their medical degrees in 1960.

The Faculty of Agriculture had quite as difficult a start in





another way. There was the problem of the determination of the content of the B. Sc. degree in agriculture. There was also the lack of support from the other West African territories for the faculty. The original plan was for one School of Agriculture for the whole of British West Africa. Neither money nor students were forthcoming from the other territories. Within Nigeria itself the Cocoa Marketing Board donated the sum of £1,000,000 for the support of the faculty and an additional sum of £250,000 was made available to provide scholarships for the sons and daughters of cocoa farmers. This situation, however, led to some unfortunate results. According to Mellanby:

The most serious of these was that this faculty developed, that it was in some way separate from the rest of the college as a whole. Its members had the idea that they must guard their earmarked funds jealously from any predatory attack from the authorities of the college as a whole, and there was opposition to a part of the fund being used to pay even their own share of general college expenditure.<sup>27</sup>

The Inter-University Council Visitation of 1952 and 1957 commented on this unfortunate situation. Another problem was that the faculty attracted few students since there was little likelihood that students might go into farming themselves. "Almost the only outlet for agriculture graduates was in the government advisory and research services."<sup>28</sup>

The department of Animal Health was not even able to make a start.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 195-196.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 192.





The old veterinary course at Yaba had been even less popular than the medical course, and it had the same disadvantages of lack of recognition, poor pay and the unusually long training period of seven and one-half years.

Another initial failure of the University College was its inability to establish an Institute of Education. The first Professor of Education was appointed in 1953 but she stayed only one year, during which she appointed no staff, planned no courses and admitted no students. It was not until 1957 that a new start was made. The Institute offered a one year Associateship Course and a course for the post-graduate certificate in education.

#### University College, Ibadan, After Mellanby

Dr. Mellanby retired as principal in 1953, and for his services he was awarded the O. B. E. His successor was Dr. John Tennant Saunders, a man with considerable experience of university administration at Cambridge. Saunder's main work was to consolidate the pioneer efforts of his predecessor. He saw to the completion of the many building projects which had been started under Mellanby. The course offerings were increased, and by 1956 Honours and General Degree courses had been established in the departments of English, History, Geography, Chemistry, Physics, Zoology, Botany, Classics and Mathematics. Recruitment to the academic staff gained momentum and the relationship with the Nigerian press improved. Less was heard of the frequent allegations of 'wild spening' by the College. Dr. Saunders retired in 1956 and was awarded the C. M. G. He also wrote an



account of the University College's history.<sup>29</sup>

The next principal was Dr. John Parry, a former Cambridge don and lately Professor of History at the University College of the West Indies. His four years as principal was another period of expansion. New buildings were begun. The Institute of Education was at last established and so were the departments of Economics and Islamic Studies. The Department of Religious Studies was reconstituted to give courses leading to a Bachelor of Divinity degree.

The student enrolment rose from just under 500 during the 1956-57 academic year to 1,112 at the end of the 1959-60 year.

Dr. Parry retired at the end of the 1959-60 year and he was succeeded by Dr. Kenneth Onwuka Dike. Dr. Dike, a Nigerian, was at the time of his appointment, Head of the History Department at the University College. He was Nigeria's most distinguished historian and also the National Archivist. The University College expanded even more rapidly under Dike. The enrolment was almost doubled in two years and new courses were added. In 1962 the University College decided to apply for a charter which would give it recognition as a full university in its own right. During the sixteen years of tutelage under the University of London, the College had gained for itself an enviable record in teaching and research, and its students have distinguished themselves in many fields. The charter was duly approved.

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<sup>29</sup>J. T. Saunders, University College, Ibadan (London: Cambridge University Press, 1960).





The University in 1962

A great deal had been achieved during the first sixteen years of the University's history. Much of the credit should go to Dr. Mellanby who, despite his many mistakes, laid for the College the highest academic standards and in planning buildings and equipment that have been the envy of many institutions. The University whose campus covered an area of more than four square miles was fully residential. With more than 3,000 students enrolled for degree courses, it was a good-sized university by British standards. Although it had been justly criticized for its conservative policy with regard to student enrolment and courses offered in the past, its academic standards provided models for the new Nigerian universities.

It was indeed remarkable that nearly all the principal officers of the four new Nigerian universities were men who had received their education or administrative experience at the University College, Ibadan. The experience, failures and short-comings of the University enabled the new institutions to avoid many teething troubles. The University of Ibadan would remain a monument to those Nigerians who struggled on the side of quality and excellence in higher education.



## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND THE TEN YEAR PLANS

The refusal, in 1940, of the Secretary of State to approve of the Governor's request for a grant of £26,000 for the improvement of the conditions of teachers in the voluntary agency schools, would in normal circumstances have caused the Nigerian Government considerable embarrassment. Fortunately, however, this was avoided as the Nigerian economy during the War showed some recovery. The Government was able to find the money within the country to make increased allocations to grants-in-aid as the following figures show:

1941-42	£282,882
1942-43	£352,896
1943-44	£481,226
1944-45	£485,113
1945-46	£615,663

Meanwhile, in deference to the recommendations of the Secretary of State, the Governor prepared a Ten Year Educational Plan. It was completed and submitted to London in 1942. The Plan included an account of "the existing educational facilities in the country, their limitations, and to indicate the extent to which efficiency and progress is primarily a question of finance."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Nigeria. Ten Year Educational Plan (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1962), p. 1.



The consideration of higher education was left out of the Plan because the Governor regarded the subject as a matter for the joint consideration of all British West African colonies. The country's expenditure on education was analyzed as follows:

		Percentage of the educational expenditure to total recurrent expenditure
Government	£293,690	4%
Native Administrations, Northern Provinces	£ 53,263	6%
Native Administrations, Southern Provinces		2.8%

The Government expenditure included the sum of £136,600 paid in grants to voluntary agency schools and distributed as follows:

Southern Provinces	£129,659
Northern Provinces	£ 2,341
To Mission Supervisors, mainly in Southern Provinces	£ 4,600 <sup>2</sup>

Of the approximately 7,750,000 children under the age of sixteen in Nigeria, the number receiving instruction in schools was estimated at only about 350,000 and of this number only 30,000 belonged to the Northern Provinces which contained the larger proportion of the population of the country.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.





Educational Facilities in Northern Nigeria

There were 229 NA schools in the North and these varied from the single class schools to the full elementary school of four classes. The elementary schools acted as feeders to the Middle Schools.

These Middle Schools consist of a remove class for teaching English to new arrivals, who have learnt no English in the elementary schools, and four secondary classes. English is used as the medium of instruction as soon as possible. They produce candidates for the Native Administration services, for junior Government appointments and for the Training Colleges. The best of the junior students are selected for Kaduna College. They are boarding schools and exhaust most of the funds available for education. In consequence the elementary schools do not get their full share of the funds expended on education and no satisfactory expansion of Native Administration elementary schools can take place unless more teachers are trained and financial assistance is provided.<sup>4</sup>

Very little progress was reported in the field of female education in Northern Nigeria. The number of girls in attendance at NA schools rose from 1,451 during 1940-41 to 1,812 in 1942. Thirteen girls passed out of the Women's Training Centre at Sokoto and twelve of them were teaching. There were girls' schools at Birnin Kebbi and Kano and Domestic Science centres at Okene and Ilorin.

At Kano and at Jos the Government maintained schools for the education of children of southern parentage. Those schools offered up to Standard VI and instruction was in English. Kaduna College was the only full secondary school in the North. The College provided recruits into Government service and teachers for the Middle Schools.

There were two men's teacher training centres--one at Toro and the

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 2.



other at Bauchi. Some thought was being given to the transference of the Bauchi centre to Makarfi which had a healthier site, provided more local schools for teaching practice and was near to an agricultural experimental station.

The voluntary agencies engaged in educational work were mainly the various Christian missionary societies. Most of their activities were confined to the provinces of Bauchi, Benue and Ilorin and Kabba. Only forty-three of the Mission schools in the North were granted aid.

### Educational Facilities in Southern Nigeria

The growing demand for African participation in educational activities led to the opening in the Southern Provinces of NA schools, particularly in places where the Missions had not yet established their own schools. Most of these schools were too remote for supervision by the Education Officers and in a few cases the schools compared less favourably with the local mission schools. On the whole, the NA schools enjoyed greater prestige among the local people.

There were two Government secondary schools both located in the Western Provinces. One was a girls' school and the other was for boys. There had been one boys' secondary school in the Eastern Provinces but it was closed temporarily during the War and its pupils accommodated elsewhere. On the Government secondary schools, the Plan commented:

These Government schools are the only secondary schools which are properly equipped and staffed for teaching science. In consequence, the Higher College at Yaba had to rely principally on these schools for candidates for the courses offered in medicine, veterinary studies, forestry, agriculture, etc. This unduly narrows the field of selection for higher education and







means that Yaba is not necessarily getting the best available material. A demand for another boys' school and Government girls' school for the Eastern Provinces has been urgent for some years.<sup>5</sup>

There were four teacher training colleges wholly or partly maintained by the Government. There were two others--one in the East and one in the Cameroons. The Government had no Higher Elementary Teacher Training Centres, but it was proposed that one of the elementary training centres be converted into a Higher Elementary Training Centre.

Most of the schools in the Southern Provinces were mission owned. The majority were one or two class schools manned by uncertified teachers who were poorly paid. On the general situation of secondary schools, the Plan observed that they tended to spring up in the big towns where it was generally easier to collect higher fees and where demand for them was generally greater. Out of a total of sixteen full secondary boys' schools in the country, five were located in Lagos alone. The only full mission secondary school for girls was also in Lagos. The Plan deplored the prevailing attitude which regarded the secondary school as primarily a means of entering the clerical branches of the Government Service. Other forms of employment were neglected and there was a danger that unless the syllabuses of the schools were modified to meet expanding demands, disillusionment and unemployment were likely to result.

There was also a comment on the content of the primary school course which has been described as too academic. The primary schools

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 3.



tended to produce an ever increasing number of semi-literates who were unemployable. This fact had not halted the gravitation to the towns where little awaited them except the prospects of casual labour.

The suggested solution for this was a more balanced educational programme in the village school. Such a programme would aim at relating the school and its activities to the life of the community.

While there had been general increase in the demand for education at all levels,

Government grants-in-aid remained nearly static for years, and, in consequence, many schools which were eligible for assistance received no grants as funds were not available. The result was that in many cases teachers' salaries were not paid in full for long periods and senior teachers of experience left their employment to take up any Government or Commerical appointment offering better ultimate prospects. The teaching service as a whole became disgruntled and many of the best men were lost. The regular supply of trained teachers from the training colleges still tend to leave as soon as they fulfill their contracts. The only satisfactory solution of this problem is increased grants-in-aid and the control of expansion.<sup>6</sup>

### The Long Range Plan

The proposals which the Government put forward as a Long Range Plan embodied five ideas. They were (i) the provision of a type of education more suitable for the needs of the country, (ii) the provision of better service conditions for all voluntary agency teachers, (iii) the provision of more adequate financial aid for missions and other voluntary agencies, (iv) the grant of financial assistance to the NAs and (v) the

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 5.





control of the expansion of educational services within financial limits.

The move to provide a more suitable kind of education was aimed at slowing down the drift of the semi-literates from the villages into the towns. It was hoped to achieve this by the establishment of elementary schools in the villages with a strong rural bias and suited to local needs and conditions.

The aim will be to provide the village child with such an education as will enable him to become a more useful member of the village whether as a farmer or a craftsman. Instruction given in the classroom, the school garden, the farm and handicraft classes will therefore be closely related to the normal life of the local community. The village school will also be used to introduce better farming methods and new crops. This has been made possible as the results of experiments carried out by the Agricultural Department, which is now in a position to give detailed advice as to the methods to be used in different districts.<sup>7</sup>

A wide basis for the secondary school curriculum was urged to include science (not necessarily to the School Certificate level), commercial subjects, agriculture in rural schools and office training, typing and shorthand in the girls' secondary schools.

With respect to the matter of improving teachers' conditions in the voluntary agency schools, the Plan referred to the special grant of £26,000 which had been made to enable "all certified teachers to be paid arrears of increments from the 1st of January, 1937, to the 1st of January, 1941, and to be placed on the Board of Education 1937 scale as from the previous date."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.





To provide assistance to the missions and other voluntary agencies, it was recommended that grants-in-aid be paid on the following basis:

One hundred per cent of the salaries of all certified and special register teachers, 'Special Register' teachers are a new class to be created. They will comprise selected, experienced and uncertified teachers who have successfully undergone a one year's training course.

...The proposal to pay 100 per cent salaries is a change from the present system whereby a percentage of the salaries of the whole teaching staff only in schools which qualify for assistance has been paid.<sup>9</sup>

The financial assistance to the NAs was to take the form of (i) the payment of certificated and Special Register staff, (ii) the payment of the NAs contribution to a provident fund and (iii) the payment of subsistence allowance to teachers in training. In the North, 229 NA schools employed 231 certificated teachers for 12,586 pupils.

Under the Ten Year Plan, it was proposed to increase the number of NA schools in the North to 2,464, the number of certificated teachers to 618 and the Special Register Teachers from 260 to 619 approximately. The enrolment in the schools was expected to increase to 32,000.

On the subject of controlled expansion within financial limits, the proposals were as follows: in the Northern Provinces, the enrolment in the elementary schools was to be increased from 27,000 to 77,000 at the end of the ten year period and the number entering into the secondary schools was to rise from 1,570 to 3,460.

In the Southern Provinces, the number of boys enrolled in the

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 7.



elementary schools was to be increased from 260,000 to 360,000 and the number of girls from 53,000 to 74,000 at the end of the ten year period. The secondary school enrolment for both boys and girls in the Southern Provinces was to be increased from 4,500 to 7,460.

The Plan next considered the financial aspects of the proposals.

The capital cost of all the proposals of the Plan amounts to L396,000 and the total recurrent cost over the ten year period to L4,200,300. There would thereafter be a maximum annual liability of about L945,000.<sup>10</sup>

It further pointed out that,

A low percentage of expenditure on social services is inevitable in a poor country like Nigeria, in which essential expenditure on administration and security, and on the services of public debt must absorb an unduly large percentage of the available revenue. There are only three ways of remedying this unpleasant state of affairs, to cut down other services (which is obviously impossible); to raise more money from an outside source (which is one of the objects of this dispatch); to raise additional taxation, which I regard as impracticable in Nigeria at the moment.<sup>11</sup>

The Plan was based on the assumption that the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds would share the cost of recurrent expenditure equally with the Nigerian Government. The cost of meeting expansion was to come wholly from the Funds.

In the field of technical education, no major developments were proposed. A technical college or even a big trade school was considered unwarranted in view of cost, staff and the demand for technically trained

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.





people.

The Plan was submitted in 1942 to the Secretary of State who passed it on to the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies for comment and recommendations. The Committee's comments were very strong on some of the points contained in the Plan. The Plan itself was criticized for not bearing in mind the needs of the majority of Nigerian children. It was not comprehensive. Thus wrote the Committee,

It is clearly the duty of the Government to devise its scheme of general public education in what we may, for purposes of convenience, describe as the primary stage, in such a way as to provide for the needs not merely of the 5 per cent but of the 95 per cent of the population. It may be said that this will involve a reconsideration of the whole present organization of the school system. It if is true, as we believe to be true, that there is a real waste of money and effort in what at present are called the infant or sub-primary sections of the schools, then that effort and the expenditure should be devoted rather to devising a school course much shorter but much more effective for 95 per cent of the population. Such a course might well extend over a period of five years with a content which would include the teaching of some English to the great bulk of the population and would aim at equipping the boy or girl to take a full part in the economic and political development of the Territory.<sup>12</sup>

The Committee also reviewed what it called the 'Nigerian Problem'. There were approximately 7,750,000 children under the age of sixteen. Of this number it was reasonable to infer that at least 3,000,000 were between the ages of seven and fourteen, which were the generally recognized school going ages in Nigeria. Of those, only 350,000 were actually enrolled in schools. The Plan proposed an increase of 176,000. According to the 1938 estimates the annual population increase in the country was

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 29.



about 4 per cent. On the basis of this, the school going population could be expected to increase to at least 3,130,000 at the end of the ten year period. It was, therefore, evident that the Plan outlined in the dispatch barely touched the fringe of the educational problem of Nigeria.

The Committee was of the opinion that:

The present trend of events demands a more radical treatment on a far wider front. The right course, in our view, would be to prepare a plan to cover all the children involved, examine the cost of such a plan and modify it in accordance with the funds that can be made available.<sup>13</sup>

The Committee also expressed the view that a two-year infant course followed by six primary classes as was the case in Southern Nigeria, was too long. It suggested that the school age begin at seven and the primary school course be of five year duration, that the school fees payable be raised to an average of ten shillings per year, to produce an additional income of one and one-half million pounds. The Committee also suggested that the period of training for the elementary teachers' certificate be reduced from three to two and that to meet basic needs, pupil teachers could be used in addition to Special Register teachers. The Committee also suggested that the average salary of the teaching staff be reduced from £48 per annum to £30.

Commenting on the curriculum the Committee sharply criticized officials who were in the habit of blaming education for drawing the people away from the land and who recommended the teaching of agriculture in the schools to counter-balance this tendency. The Committee maintained that

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 30.





the movement away from the land was due to other causes and that education only served to hasten the process. If the tendency was to be arrested, the root causes had to be attacked and the conditions producing the drift ameliorated. The Committee remarked with a tinge of sarcasm that those who prescribed the teaching of agriculture as a cure were usually those who knew nothing either about children or about agriculture. It maintained that agriculture could not be successfully taught to children under eleven years of age.

Instead we should prefer to emphasise the need that they should become acquainted, through observation, including that of plants and animals, and by being shown and taking part in very simple scientific investigations and experiments, requiring of course no purchased apparatus, with ideas of process of growth and change, and cause and effect.<sup>14</sup>

The need for a better curriculum in the secondary schools, the need for controlled expansion, the need for increased participation of the NAs in educational matters and the usefulness of crafts education and the education of girls--all these were recognized by the Committee but the substance of its comments was that the Plan was not an acceptable one. It was left to a new Director of Education, M. L. Davidson, to draw up a fresh plan which would take due note of the criticisms of the Advisory Committee.

The second Ten Year Plan was not published until 1947, when it was submitted to the Legislative Council as a Sessional Paper.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-35.

<sup>15</sup>Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 20. 1947. (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1947).





The Paper was indeed a broad statement of Educational Policy in Nigeria and it made a quick review of the main events and situations which had led to its formulation.

The 1947 Memorandum made some comments on the rejected 1942 dispatch.

This plan met with a general welcome locally, first, because it represented an attempt to evolve order out of chaos, and secondly because it aimed at improving the position of non-Government teachers. On the other hand, the "plan" was widely criticised both in Nigeria and in the United Kingdom for a variety of reasons, but more particularly because it merely touched the fringe of the problem at a cost out of proportion to the Territory's economics. A further criticism was that the plan was prepared in Lagos without discussion at the Provincial level and that, in consequence, Provincial needs were arbitrarily assessed and statistical information--a prerequisite to educational planning--was lacking in accuracy. In the event the plan was rejected by the Secretary of State.<sup>16</sup>

The 1947 Memorandum proposed the classification of schools under three main headings: (i) Primary (including Infant and Junior classes); (ii) Senior Primary and (iii) Secondary schools. Secondary schools could be of different kinds--grammar, technical and modern.

Another recommendation was the establishment of a Central Advisory Board and local boards in the provinces. A standing committee on Curriculum and another for Textbooks and Publications were to be created. In general, the Memorandum sought for the enlargement of the Education Department.

Another key policy statement was made on the place of local authorities in educational administration.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.



Increased educational facilities cannot be provided with advantage except with the active co-operation of the communities concerned. The stage has been reached at which popular education will cease to be popular unless the communities concerned have a measure of control: and popular control depends on the creation of some machinery of local government. It is recommended, therefore, that Education Committees be established in each Province with the avowed object that they should become Committees of "Local Education Authorities" in the technical sense of the term.<sup>17</sup>

The functions of the proposed Committees were (a) to plan for the progressive and comprehensive organization of primary education within their areas of authority and to implement educational plans; (b) examine the notifications of intentions to open new schools and to make recommendations on such intentions ; (c) to supervise and to advise on educational spending and (d) to acquaint themselves with the social services being performed locally and to use the schools as vehicles for furthering such services.

On the subject of grants-in-aid, the Memorandum maintained that the Government was faced with a demand for a rapid expansion coupled with a desire for greater participation on the part of the local communities. For these reasons any increases in the rates of the grants would have to be made contingent upon planned regional schemes which had the approval of the proposed local authorities. On the assumption that proper control was forthcoming to prevent waste of educational effort, it recommended that the block grants-in-aid be increased annually by the sum of L130,000 during the following five years.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 7.





The views of the Advisory Committee were reconsidered and it was recommended that grants be awarded to the schools on a less elaborate efficiency basis and that this should include the total salary of the staff in the preceding year, less 50% of the fees in rural areas and less 60% of the fees collected by schools in urban areas. Additional grants could be paid in respect of certificated and Special Register teachers who were not covered under the block grant. Other modifications and recommendations were the introduction of special grants for the development of primary education in designated areas, the introduction of uniform fees rate in a particular area, a special grant of £24 per annum for supervising teachers, the payment of headmasters' allowances according to recommendations made under the recruitment and training of teachers, the treatment of the secondary school like primary schools for the purposes of grants, the extension of the grants-in-aid scheme to efficient teacher-training colleges and the requirement that all schools produce annual returns showing salaries and other emoluments paid to teachers.

The importance of the school to the community was fully acknowledged and hence the insistence that:

Not only must the school be related to the traditions of society of which it is part, it must further social progress by interpreting the changes which are taking place in African society by communicating the new knowledge and skill necessary to improve the life of the community, by supplying new motives and incentives to replace those which have ceased to be adequate and by fostering an intelligent interest in environment which will heighten for individual and community alike the enjoyment of life.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18.



The main point about secondary education was that it should be planned from the centre as opposed to the local planning of primary education.

The Memorandum left out the subject of Higher Education which it believed was the joint concern of the territories comprising British West Africa. It also took note of the fact that a Commission had been appointed to look into the subject of Higher Education in West Africa and as the report of the Commission had not been published at the time that the Memorandum was drafted, a discussion of that subject was left out to avoid prejudicing the issue. The Memorandum, nevertheless, pointed out the advantages of one university for West Africa in view of potential student number, financial resources and the value of a corporate intellectual life. A generous provision of scholarships was recommended.

The problems of girls' education were touched upon and it was proposed that one large boarding school be established in the West, another in the East and that the girls currently in attendance at the Queen's College, Lagos, be absorbed into a co-educational secondary day school within the township. Two Womens' Training Colleges were to be established --one in the West and the other in the East.

In the North there were four big girls' schools located at Kano, Birnin Kebbi, Katsina and Sokoto. There were smaller schools at Argungu and Gwandu and Domestic Science Centres were established in Okene, Offa, Ilorin and Minna. For the future, it was recommended that Womens' Training Colleges be established on a regional basis. The North-Eastern Region was to include Bornu, Bauchi and Adamawa Provinces. The Central Region





was to comprise of Niger, Southern Zaria, Plateau, North-West Benue and the Northern parts of Ilorin and Kabba provinces. A third region was proposed to cover southern Kabba and Ilorin provinces which had strong "southern" sympathies, reflected in among other things, a more progressive attitude towards girls' education. A fourth region was to cover the South-East, more particularly the Tiv area of Benue Province. An immediate start was urged with the establishment at Abuja, of the institution for the Central Region.

The Plan envisaged a whole network of regional Senior Primary Schools for girls. Research was urged into the social and economic position of women. More Domestic Science Training Centres were to be opened at Zaria, Jos, Kano and Maiduguri.

The Plan aimed at a long range policy of demanding as a basic qualification, a full secondary school course for the primary school teacher. This was to be followed by two years of teacher training. As a short-range objective, it was recommended that in the transitional period, elementary teachers be allowed to qualify for the higher elementary certificate subject to a period of further study at an approved training institution.

The importance of science teaching in the schools was stressed. Most of the voluntary agency schools taught little science and those that did introduced the subject without careful planning. The only schools which had adequate science staff and facilities were the three Government schools and these acted principally as feeders to the Yaba Higher College. As a result of this situation,





The secondary schools conducted by the churches quickly realized that their pupils would be debarred from the only higher education institution in the territory unless they studied science. The subject was thus introduced into more and more schools without proper facilities or staff and the situation steadily deteriorated.<sup>19</sup>

The improvement of agricultural education was urged and attention was drawn to the training given to agricultural assistants, to candidates for employment in Government services or agricultural estates, to those who wished to become farmers on their own and to training schools for agricultural teachers in the primary schools and also training provisions for teachers in secondary schools which taught rural science.

The lack of a definite policy on technical and vocational education was pointed out, so was the absence of an intermediate category of artisans, to bridge the gap between the professional and clerical class on top and the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. A number of recommendations were made. The details of the recommendations on technical and vocational education are given in Chapter IX of this study.

Other subjects briefly covered by the Memorandum were religious education, health and physical welfare of the school children and young people, social welfare and adult education. On the subject of adult education, attention was drawn to the Advisory Committee's recommendations that "shock tactics" be adopted to achieve targets. The Committee attached great importance to adult education because,

The attainment of literacy makes people aware of the need for social and economic improvement and therefore more willing

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 41.



to co-operate with the agencies working for them: the rapid changes taking place in family and village life can be understood and acceptable only to a literate people, literacy is a pre-requisite towards self-government.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to language in education, reference was made to the 1925 Policy Statement<sup>21</sup> which declared that no real progress could be made in mass education unless it was through the mother tongue. A knowledge of English was considered necessary in Nigerian education because the Nigerian must be a citizen of the world. "In other words, the people of Nigeria should aim at bilingualism--an important point--their ability to express themselves will depend on their literary command of the mother tongue."<sup>22</sup>

#### A Review of the Grants-in-Aid System

Before the Second Ten Year Plan for Educational Development was embarked upon, the Government decided to make a thorough review of the existing policy and practices in respect of grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies. On July 23rd, 1947, therefore, the Governor, Sir Arthur Richards informed the Secretary of State that in his opinion it was essential that a resolute attempt be made to get away from the practice of periodical interim and ad hoc adjustments in the level of grants-in-aid to voluntary agencies and to place the procedure on a regulated

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>21</sup>Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2347 (London: H. M. S. O., 1925).

<sup>22</sup>Memorandum on Educational Policy, 1947. p. 58.





footing.

The Secretary of State welcomed the Government's intention to appoint the Nigerian Financial Secretary, Sydney (later, Sir) Phillipson to undertake the necessary investigations into the grants-in-aid system. Phillipson was assisted by W. E. Holt. Their findings and recommendations were published in 1948.<sup>24</sup>

The line along which the investigation was to proceed was indicated by the Governor when he announced to the Legislative Council in 1947 that,

I do not wish to anticipate those decisions, but one thing is clear, and that is that the principle of control on the basis of efficiency and social usefulness, which is the only appropriate basis on which Government's revenues can be given to support non-Government schools, must be the foundation of future policy.<sup>25</sup>

Phillipson approached his task with energy and he considered it from the historical, comparative, practical and local points of view. His historical approach embodied an account "of the several stages by which the present complex position has been reached, that account naturally giving priority of place to facts bearing on the evolution of state intervention and aid."<sup>26</sup> The comparative approach was gained by noting the existing policies and practices in the United Kingdom and

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<sup>24</sup>S. Phillipson & W. E. Holt, Grants in Aid of Education in Nigeria. A Review with Recommendations (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1948).

<sup>25</sup>Cited by Phillipson & Holt, pp. 3-4.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 7.



other African territories and the practical approach was reflected in the recommendations which were intended for the immediate future (the next ten years) and also those with long time range implications. There was need for the local approach because the Nigerian problem could be solved by the application of general principles alone, no matter how useful these might be. An understanding of local conditions and antecedents was necessary too.

The historical survey of the development of Nigerian education already contained in the preceding chapters makes it unnecessary to repeat Phillipson's summaries, but it is useful to record his observations on the financing of education by the voluntary agencies. These sources of finance included (i) overseas contributions from sponsoring missionary societies, (ii) contributions from Central Church funds within the country, (iii) school fees, (iv) collections in the local church and (v) collections from the community served by a school and in some cases, grants from the Native Authorities.

Mention was made of the fact that in Northern Nigeria it was customary up till 1939 for pupils in the NA schools to pay from one penny to six pence per month. Since January of that year the NA elementary schools had become non-fee paying. In the Middle Schools fees ranged from one pound to one shilling a month and in schools serving children whose parents were from outside Northern Nigeria, fees ranged from one shilling to three shillings and six pence a month.

In the Eastern Provinces the fees charged in the schools had recently been standardized as twelve shillings and six pence a year in the





junior primary classes and twenty-five shillings in the senior primary classes.

Fees ranged from two to ten shillings a year in the junior classes in C. M. S. schools. The maximum was fixed at thirty shillings. Secondary school fees varied between seven and ten pounds a year in the Southern Provinces.

In his proposals Phillipson took into consideration , (a) the ultimate objective, (b) the immediate objective, (c) the defects in the existing arrangements and (d) facts and considerations which had important bearings on the solution, even if not inherent in the problem.

The ultimate objective, he declared, was the establishment of a universal, free and compulsory education up to and inclusive of secondary education. The cost of this was to be shared between national taxation and local rates. The scheme proposed sought to divide the cost of primary education between the Government and the local communities served by the schools in the form of an Assumed Local Contribution for the latter.

He enumerated eleven conditions which he regarded as general desiderata for determining the award of grants. These were:

- (1) that only schools recognized as educationally necessary, socially useful and efficient be eligible;
- (2) that the amount of aid should vary with the economic circumstances of the different areas, poor areas bearing a lesser proportion of the costs;
- (3) that the spirit of local initiative be conserved;
- (4) that precise definition of the financial obligations of the





Government and the voluntary agencies be made;

- (5) that the grants-in-aid scheme be not only workable but also acceptable to the voluntary agencies;
- (6) that the relation of the grants-in-aid regulation to the Nigerian central and regional finance under the new Constitution be clarified;
- (7) that the aim of the new system be ease and simplicity;
- (8) that payment of teachers at recognized scales be made a pre-condition for the award of grants;
- (9) that the relation of the proposed arrangements for Local Authorities under the new Education Bill, be clarified with respect to the administration of grants-in-aid;
- (10) that grants be paid concurrently with services rendered;
- (11) that the scheme be related to the supply of trained teachers.<sup>27</sup>

What Phillipson in fact recommended was a general policy which would entitle any school or training institution to grants if adjudged educationally necessary, if socially useful and efficient and if the following conditions were also satisfied:

- (i) that the school proprietor had a valid title or interest in the land on which the school or institution was situated;
- (ii) that the school or training institution did not yield a profit to the proprietor and that the income of the school was applied solely to the purpose of the school or institution;

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 71-72.



- (iii) that no pupil be refused admission except on reasonable grounds;
- (iv) that no pupil be made to receive instruction objected to by the parents or guardians of such pupils, or be present when such instruction was given;
- (v) that the instruction in the school be based on a Schedule or syllabus approved by the Director of Education;
- (vi) that the buildings of the school or institution were used for educational purposes only or otherwise in a way that would not be detrimental to its educational work;
- (vii) that teachers whose salaries form part of the recognized expense of the school or institution be not engaged in occupation or activities which interfere with the proper execution of their scholastic duties;
- (viii) that the number of teachers be reasonably proportionate to the number of pupils;
- (ix) that the school manager or proprietor furnish to the Director of Education such accounts, returns and statements as might be prescribed from time to time;
- (x) that the school or institution be efficiently managed;
- (xi) that the school or institution be properly constructed, equipped, lighted, drained, ventilated and provided with suitable sanitary accommodation and kept in a satisfactory state of repairs;
- (xii) that in the opinion of the Director, the school or





institution was in the interest of the community served;

(xiii) that recreation grounds were provided;

(xiv) that the provision of the Education Ordinance were duly observed.<sup>28</sup>

Phillipson recommended that the amount of the grants to be received by any school or institution should be the amount of the recognized expenses, less the assumed local contributions. The recognized expenses were salaries of certificated teachers, expenses with regard to expatriate staff, the number of trained but uncertificated teachers and other expenses. The assumed local contribution was based on a hypothetical class of 35 pupils for the junior schools and 30 pupils for senior primary and higher schools.

The Memorandum of the year 1947 together with the recommendations of the Phillipson investigation were embodied in a new Education Ordinance which came into effect in 1949.

The abortive 1942 Ten Year Plan justly deserved the rebuke of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. It was carelessly prepared and the estimates were abnormally high for the small increases proposed during the ten year period. The neglect of technical and vocational education deserved strong comment from the Committee. These faults notwithstanding, the dispatch seemed to recognize at least that the

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 140-141.



education service was bound to fall far below the expectations of the people and the Government, unless more radical and more generous provisions were made for the improvement of the condition of teachers in the voluntary agencies schools who practically made up the teaching profession in the country.

The recommendation of the Advisory Committee that the average salary of the teacher be further reduced from £48 a year to a mere £30, coming so soon after the teaching profession had been thrown into such chaos during the depression years and after the Governor had made such an urgent plea for the long delayed improvement in teachers' conditions, could not be easily justified. It should have been clear that the other recommendations could not be implemented unless the best men and women could be attracted to and retained in the teaching profession. In the two Ten Year Plans, little attention was given to the much needed crash programme of teacher education.

The Phillipson investigation was intended to simplify and systematize the grants-in-aid system but its prescriptions were hedged in by so many clauses and conditions.

It planned for the future on the assumption that the local authority system, proposed in the 1947 Memorandum, would work out satisfactorily. As things were, many of the men and women in local authority services lacked the knowledge and experience to handle educational matters competently.





The Operation of the Ten Year Plans

In 1949 the new Education Ordinance was enacted to give legal effect to the provisions of the 1947 Memorandum and the recommendations of Phillipson and Holt. The Ordinance provided for the creation of a Central Board of Education and four regional boards. Local Education Authorities and Local Education Committees were to be set up under the general control and direction of the Education Board in each region. The Education service in each Region was to come under the management of a Deputy Director of Education. The control and direction of education in the whole country was the duty of the Director.

The first half of the Ten Year Plan ended with the 1950-51 fiscal year. Educational progress during the period is reflected in the following figures of educational expenditures:

1946-47	£ 745,850
1947-48	£1,260,121
1948-49	£1,961,761
1949-50	£2,308,530
1950-51	£2,412,239

The enrolment in the primary schools in 1946 was reported at between 500,000 and 600,000, distributed as follows:

Western Provinces	182,000 boys;	46,000 girls
Eastern Provinces	214,000 boys	49,000 girls
Northern Provinces	44,000 boys	10,000 girls

The corresponding figures for primary school enrolment during 1947





were:

Western Provinces	190,000 boys;	50,000 girls
Eastern Provinces	260,000 boys;	60,000 girls
Northern Provinces	55,000 boys;	11,000 girls <sup>29</sup>

By 1950 the total enrolment in the primary schools throughout the country had risen to 970,768, and the number of pupils in the secondary school was 28,430. The figures of expenditure on education given in the preceding pages excluded items under the Development and Welfare Schemes. During the 1950-51 fiscal year, the total amount from all sources, which the country spent on education, was £4,374,852.

The second half of the Ten Year Plan witnessed even more rapid development of the educational services. This was also a period of significant constitutional developments. The Richards Constitution of 1946 (the first big advance since 1923) was intended to run through a trial period of nine years. However, such was the mood of the country and the clamouring of the political leaders for further constitutional advances, that it was revised after three years. Under the Macpherson Constitution, which was drawn up in 1951 and came into effect a year later, the Regions were granted more control of their affairs. For the first time, regional elections were to be held and a ministerial system of government was to be introduced in all the Regions.

All these developments brought education under the control of the Regions. The political parties, in their election manifestoes, promised

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<sup>29</sup>Colonial Annual Reports, Nigeria, 1946 (London: H. M. S. O.), p. 48.



to give the highest priority to educational matters. This was the beginning of a healthy rivalry between the Regional Governments. Education became the most important issue in regional politics during the decade before the country achieved full self-government.





## CHAPTER IX

### THE CASE FOR TECHNICAL EDUCATION

So far in this study, few references have been made to the technical and vocational aspects of education. The emphasis has been on general education which was heavily literary in content. That this should be so was directly traceable to the fact that the main objective of the early educational agencies was not the provision of a well rounded education.

The main interest of the missionary was evangelization of the African and a literary education was deemed adequate for the purpose. Moreover, such training was the least expensive since equipment for technical and agricultural training was costly in men and money.<sup>1</sup>

The Government, on the other hand, was not unaware of the needs for a system of education in which the general and the literary instruction balanced by a progressive development of technical and vocational education. For example, in 1900, the Lagos Board of Education passed the following resolution:

It is not possible for our schools to produce really good results unless we are less apathetic about education and unless we...provide a comprehensive scheme of public instruction, which shall not only supply the wants of a clerkly class, but should also prepare youths for husbandry and handicrafts.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the fine sentiment expressed by the resolution, no

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<sup>1</sup>Coleman, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup>Cited in Coleman, p. 118.



important steps were taken to redress the lack of balance. By 1913 only seven schools in Lagos and the Southern Provinces offered any form of technical or vocational training. They were the two Government schools at Bonny and Warri, and also the Hope Waddell Institute, Calabar. The other schools were girls' schools in Lagos.

In the boys' schools the course comprises wood sawing, carpentry, joinery, coopering, engineering, telegraphy, printing, tailoring and also a little gardening. In the girls' schools, domestic economy is taught in its various branches, plain needlework, washing and ironing, baking of bread, preparation of native foodstuffs, fancy needlework, and instruction in native industries of any kind according to an approved scheme.<sup>3</sup>

A number of workshop assistants were trained by some of the Government Departments like the Railways and the Public Works Department but the number of those who benefitted from such training were few. Openings were rigidly controlled by the needs of the departments concerned. The lack of training opportunities for the great majority of technically minded Nigerians added still another cause for frustration and criticism of the Government. The British officials were always accusing the Nigerians of being too bookish and desk bound, yet the Government was mostly indifferent to technical education even at the lowest levels, let alone at professional levels. The following extract from a 1930 editorial in the Nigerian Daily Times voiced the indignation and resentment felt by many of the young people whose aspirations were thwarted by the Government's indifference towards higher education, particularly higher technical

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<sup>3</sup>Imperial Education Conference Papers, III. Southern Nigeria, p. 26.





education.

As often as opportunity arises, Government have always been asked what policy they intended to pursue in respect of appointing Africans who are fully qualified to positions of responsibility in the Service. We cannot say that the answers returned in the past have been of a character calculated to give satisfaction or reassurance which completely removes doubts in the minds of the public.

Taunted too often that the goal of his (the African youth)<sup>4</sup> ambition does not go beyond two of the popular professions-- Law and Medicine--or the counting house of Government offices, a class of men are rising who are determined to contest for every possible situation which may be open to them by virtue of their qualifications and fitness in all respects. Men diplomaed from the English or other recognised Universities in Civil Engineering, in Metallurgy, in electricity, and in Agriculture, are not now the rare birds of the days when Government complacently upbraided youths for their lack of vision and excessive partiality to cheap clerical labour. But have these representative few been given an opportunity of showing their mettle? Have their applications not been turned down by responsible Heads of Government Departments or offered such ridiculously low salary as to expose the Nigerian Government to the charge of barring the door of opportunity to qualified Africans while their spokesmen always say in public that they are welcome?<sup>5</sup>

In 1934 Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who became President of the Republic of Nigeria in 1960, had made a similar complaint about the lack of opportunities for technically trained Africans.

Neither the European Governments would employ them, not would European private enterprisers, nor would the Missions with their limited budget, nor had these Africans sufficient capital to enter into business. They, therefore, continue the cycle of teaching others to teach agriculture and industrial education.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The writer's interpolation

<sup>5</sup>"Giving the African a Square Deal," The Nigerian Daily Times, Monday 3rd, February, 1930. p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>B. N. Azikiwe, "How Shall We Educate the African?" Journal of the African Society. XXXIII, No. April, 1934, p. 147.





Right up till the end of the Second World War, the Nigerian Government continued to neglect technical and vocational education. In the abortive 1942 Ten Year Plan, this aspect of education was simply dismissed with the statement that:

It is doubtful whether a big trade school or a technical college is necessary at the present stage. Such a school would be extremely expensive to build and equip, require a large European and African staff and there would be not great demand for the products when trained.<sup>7</sup>

The War, however, served to remove the smoke screen and even the Government could no longer pretend that technical and vocational education were not important to the life and progressive development of the country.

An official report<sup>8</sup> published shortly after the War conceded that:

Technical education is of such importance that a separate plan has been made for it, outside of the general education plan...The shortage of properly trained artisans and technicians is at present one of the limiting factors of any real and rapid development, unless quick action is taken to provide facilities for proper training of such men, there must be a serious lag in the work of development. The importance of quick action is therefore obvious.<sup>9</sup>

The expression of concern for the long neglected technical and vocational education was an indication of a definite shift in the policy

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<sup>7</sup>Nigeria, Ten Year Educational Plan (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1942), p. 19.

<sup>8</sup>A Ten Year Plan of Development and Welfare for Nigeria, 1946 (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1946).

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.



and attitude of the Government.

The proposals outlined in the report, though inadequate, could nevertheless be regarded as an encouraging step in the direction of technical education. It was proposed that three trade centres be established--one at Yaba, one at Enugu, and the third at either Zaria or Kaduna in the Northern Provinces. Also to be established was a Technical Institute at Yaba. Handicrafts centres were proposed for all provinces. The whole cost of the technical education plan was estimated at £1,536,433 over a ten year period. Of this sum, £421,000 was to be allocated to buildings.

In addition to these new proposals, certain Government Departments --the Railway Workshops at Iddo, Zaria and Enugu; the Nigerian Marine Workshops at Apapa, Port-Harcourt, Calabar and Victoria, and the Public Works Department--were to expand their apprenticeship training schemes to provide technical personnel not only for their own use but also for the needs of other Departments and the NAs.

In 1947 a Memorandum on Educational Policy was prepared and this document commented

Indications of policy in regard to technical and vocational training have not hitherto been particularly illuminating. Such suggestions as have been proffered during the last two decades have not proceeded far beyond the very general statement that opportunities for vocational training should be provided at some state and as some part of the educational scheme. Little or nothing has been said about the place of the economic fabric which is to be occupied by those who have been trained.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria. Sessional Paper No. 20 of 1947 (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1947), p. 46.





The Memorandum not only pointed out the necessity of pursuing a well-thought out policy on technical and vocational education, but also drew attention to the value of the British experience of collaboration between industry and the education service to develop the human material required for the needs of the future. It also pointed out the conspicuous absence in the Nigerian society of an intermediate matrix of artisans to bridge the gap between the professional and clerkly class and the semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

As a result of consultation between Heads of the Technical Departments and the Government Service and the commercial firms, a plan for technical education was worked out on the basis of the 1946 proposals. The proposed trade centres were to give five year courses to pupils who had completed the primary school course. The trade subjects to be offered would include the Building Trades, Mechanical, Motor and Electrical Engineering, Sheet Metal Working, Smithing, Plumbing and Welding.

The proposed technical and vocational institutions were duly established and the facilities for technical education at the end of the 1950-51 fiscal year are given in the following tables:



TABLE XX  
YABA TECHNICAL INSTITUTE, 1950-51

Course	Nature	Enrol- ment
A. Junior Technical Course	Pre-employment apprentices course	105
B. Handicraft Instructor Course	Training of Handicraft Instructors for secondary schools	10
C. Manual Instructors Course	Training of Manual Instructors for Senior Primary schools and Handicrafts centres	29
D. Engineering and Architectural Assistants Courses	Training of Engineering and Architectural Assistants for Government and private concerns	
(a) Mechanical Engineering		20
(b) Electrical Engineering		18
(c) Civil Engineering		27
(d) Architecture		17
E. Day Continuation Courses for Mechanics and Carpenters	Part-time apprentice training	23
F. Evening Continuation Classes	For engineering trades, carpenters and electricians	20
TOTAL		269

Source: Annual Report, 1950-51, pp. 47-48.

Note: A-D are full time courses. Students are residential



TABLE XXI  
NUMBER OF APPRENTICES IN THE TRADE CENTRES, 1950-51

Yaba Trade Centre		Enugu Trade Centre		Kaduna Trade Centre	
Bricklayers	13			Bricklayers	24
Carpenters	19	Carpenters	19	Carpenters	30
Mechanics	7	Mechanics	21	Mechanics	39
Motor Mechanics	16	Motor Mechanics	20		
Cabinet Makers	17	Cabinet Makers	24		
Painters and Decorators	15	Painters and Decorators	20		
Blacksmiths and Welders	21	Blacksmiths and Welders	21		
Sheetmetal Workers	22	Sheetmetal Workers	22		
Electricians	16	Electricians	21		
Wood Machinists	9				
TOTAL	132		168		93

Source: Annual Report, 1950-51, pp. 47-48.

#### The Proposals for a Technical College Organization

The first big step in the field of Technical Education was taken in 1950 when W. H. Thorp and Dr. F. J. Harlow were appointed by the Nigerian Government as a Committee:

1. To make assessments of the need for the establishing of a college or colleges of higher technical education with provisions for training for the social services.





2. To advise on the organization of those Colleges.

3. To indicate how the new College organization and the institutions for technical education provided under the Ten Year Plan Development Plan can be integrated into a complete technical education structure.<sup>11</sup>

The appointment of the two man Committee arose out of the recommendations of the Minority Report of the Elliot Commission which was at first accepted by the British Government but vehemently rejected in West Africa. The Minority Report of the Commission had recommended the establishment of Territorial Colleges to serve as feeders to the comprehensive university and to undertake teacher training of the non-graduates. The Fyfe delegation supported the creation of separate university colleges but also accepted the idea of Territorial Colleges, which it suggested should be modelled on the lines of the United Kingdom Polytechnics. The Fyfe delegation also suggested that the Colleges be regional Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology. The purposes of the colleges were defined as offering general scientific and technical education to the professional or near professional standards (not necessarily university degrees).

The Report submitted by Thorp and Harlow was intended to prepare the ground for the establishment of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology. The Report was divided into two parts. The first part gave a broad outline of the proposals together with approximate costs of current and capital requirements. Part Two gave the reasons for the

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<sup>11</sup>W. H. Thorp and F. J. Harlow, Report on a Technical College Organization for Nigeria (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1950), p. A1.



recommendations. The two men made an extensive tour of Nigeria and the impressions and views gathered from all quarters--from administrators, professional men, commercial and industrial circles--were in general agreement that technical education was of primary importance to the country's economic development.

(a) The aim of Technical Education must be to provide for the requirements of industry, commerce and society, and to adjust itself to the changing needs of the territory. The curricula and organization must be adapted to meet national and local demands and must not adhere to firm and immutable forms.

(b) Large numbers of men and women engaged in industry and commerce and in professional and ancillary occupations lack the specialised knowledge and training which would allow them to be efficient in their vocations and fit to accept greater responsibility. For them, courses must be arranged so they can improve their knowledge and efficiency while continuing employment.

(c) Special attention must be given to the training of teachers and for institutions engaged in the training of teachers, particularly for secondary schools and technical institutions and for institutions engaged in the training of primary school teachers, also for persons engaged in social activities such as youth and community centre work, or in community development generally.<sup>12</sup>

The Committee encountered no opposition to the aims expressed and it believed that the best way of achieving these aims was by combining technical education with training within industry. This interweaving of theory with practice could be done either (i) by part-time day release with evening classes or (ii) by the "sandwich" system whereby employees were released for two to six months at a time to enable them to enter

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 1.







technical colleges.

The inclusion of teacher-training programmes as part of the work of a technical college was defended on the grounds that (i) the Inter-University Delegation had favoured such arrangement, (ii) that a technical college provided a more balanced training in arts, science, crafts, and physical training, (iii) that the majority of the pupils at the secondary schools would go into industry, commerce and the government service and (iv) that it was more economical and it was desirable that "the fullest use should be made of the expensive facilities which must be provided for technical education."<sup>13</sup>

In the Committee's view, the greater proportion of the technical college work should be envisaged as consisting of the alternation of college courses with spells of training in industry or departmental schools.

In the meantime full-time courses to the Higher School Certificate level and of one or two years duration may well find a place in the Nigerian College. Such courses will be justifiable only if they lead to suitable employment and their roundation should be preceded by a full investigation. Government departments and industrial or commercial undertakings may wish to recruit personnel at this higher educational level. Moreover, such courses might be found suitable for students desiring to proceed overseas for University courses in Engineering and other technological subjects which are not provided in the universities and technical colleges of West Africa.<sup>14</sup>

The Committee noted that under existing conditions, there was only

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.



a limited opening for primary school leavers to receive training as artisans at the Trade Centres. Also, the Technical Institute undertook the training of boys at the level of the technician. The object of the Technical College, therefore, would be to prepare boys from the Technical Institute for training at the highest level that was possible within the country.

The form of organization which the Committee recommended was that of a federal institution with three branches, one at Ibadan to serve Western Nigeria, one at Zaria for the North and the third at Enugu to serve the Eastern Region. Each branch would attempt to meet the special needs of the Region in which it was located. Thus, the Zaria branch would undertake courses in Agriculture, Veterinary Science, Sanitary Science and Teacher Training. The Eastern branch would offer courses in Mining and Social Work and the Ibadan branch would work alongside the University College.

The College should have "a measure of autonomy within a framework of policy and finance determined by Government after consultation with the Governing Council and Principal."<sup>15</sup>

The Council should be a corporate body charged with the responsibility for College property, staff appointments at salary scales to be approved by the Government, also for building contracts and all other kinds of management. It was suggested that service conditions be at par with the Government service.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.





The structure of technical education outlined represented the ideal situation in which each person employed in industry and commerce would have had a general and technical education appropriate to his needs. As this was a long time objective, it suggested as an interim measure that the recruits to the Northern branch of the College be at a lower standard than that prescribed for the two other branches and that an enrichment course be provided to make up for any deficiency which might exist at enrolment.

Furthermore, the Committee hinted that:

It may even be necessary initially to accept lower standards of attainment at the conclusion of the training course. This solution is far from ideal, since it is difficult to raise the standard once a lower one has been accepted. There appears, however, to be no alternative and we recommend that the risk be taken in the hope that with advancement of education in the schools, it will soon be possible to raise the standard to that of the other branches.<sup>16</sup>

In pursuance of this policy, it was recommended that the Northern College accept students with only a Middle Four qualification.

On the distribution of work between the College and the Technical Branch of the Education Department, the Committee recommended that:

1. the Technical Education Department limit its activities to the training of artisans and junior technicians and to leave the training of personnel for higher technological work to the Technical College;
2. the Education Department strive to achieve the standards of

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 6.





the Ordinary National Certificate in civil engineering and in the building trades, also prepare students for the various City and Guild of London Institute Examinations. The Department would also train shorthand typists, store-keepers and bookkeepers. The Technical College on the other hand, would prepare for professional qualifications and give advanced courses in secretarship, accounting, banking, finance, mercantile law and economics.

#### Cost of the Proposed Programme

For the Ibadan branch a sum of £500,000 was deemed enough for capital expenditure during the first five years. The annual recurrent expenditure was estimated at only £40,000. This sum was to be allocated as follows:

Buildings	£320,000
Furniture and Fittings	£ 30,000
Equipment	£150,000
Total	<u>£500,000</u>

The annual recurrent expenditure for the branch was estimated at £40,000, analyzed as follows:

Staff Salaries	£ 23,000
Postage and Local Transportation	£ 5,000
Student Catering	£ 8,000
Stores, Equipment and Public Service	£ 4,000
Total	<u>£ 40,000</u>



The sum of ₦500,000 was estimated for the two other branches in Zaria and Enugu during the first five years. The recurrent expenditure for those branches was also estimated at ₦140,000 annually.

#### Other Recommendations

1. The Committee recommended that the School Certificate or some comparable qualification be made the entrance standard for the proposed college. There was, of course, the provision that in some cases the experience of life and industry might compensate in some measure for lack of formal education.
2. It was urged that Technical Institutes be developed in all the main centres of industry and commerce to provide for local needs in technical education and that this phase should be linked with the general educational system under the Department of Education.
3. Production workshops were to be provided for the training of apprentices in addition to the training available in the local technical institute.
4. The development of the general programmes of secondary education was to provide for technical secondary schools and that science, art and physical education were to be taught in the primary and secondary schools.
5. The training of non-graduate secondary school teachers was to be done at the technical college.
6. The work of the College was also to include the training of





Youth Leaders and Community centre workers in addition to a programme of extra-mural work in community education.

One important question to which the Committee addressed itself was the examination of those courses at the Technical College which might overlap technical courses at the University College, Ibadan. The Committee observed that:

A similar state of affairs has arisen in the United Kingdom, and there is every reason why Nigeria should attempt to avoid the complications which British educationists are trying to resolve.<sup>17</sup>

As a result of a meeting between the Heads of Government Departments, training schools, the staff of the University College and the Committee, the following agreement was reached:

1. That the University College would provide graduates for administrative, specialist and research posts while the Technical College trains field Agricultural and Produce Officers and junior personnel;
2. That the training of non-graduate secondary school teachers be the responsibility of the Technical College;
3. That the University College was considering the introduction of diploma course in Forestry at the General B. Sc. level and that the Technical College could therefore aim at producing field officers in Forestry;
4. That the University College would train fully qualified medical officers and the Technical College would undertake the training

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.



- of technicians and auxiliary workers on a "sandwich" system;
6. That the University College was considering a degree course in veterinary science and that the school in Vom might be taken over for that purpose. If that happened, then the Northern branch of the Technical College would train veterinary assistants.

#### Examinations with Special Reference to United Kingdom Standards

The Committee found that "one of the chief difficulties in establishing a new educational organization is the setting up of teaching conditions and standards of attainment which will command the respect of employers and the general public."<sup>18</sup> It went on to point out that it was for this reason that the new University Colleges were affiliated with the University of London. Stress was therefore placed on the need to achieve in the Technical College organization proposed, standards which would not be inferior to those achieved in the United Kingdom institutions of similar grades. It was further suggested that wherever possible, students should be prepared for examinations of United Kingdom professional bodies. In anticipation of closer relationships the City and Guild of London Institute had already decided to establish a sub-committee to consider the problems of examining overseas technical colleges' candidates. In general, it would be possible for Nigerian candidates to take all but the final examinations of their professional courses in their own country.

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 25.





The Committee proposed that the following groups of subjects be available in the Teacher Training Department of the Technical College:

Science subjects: mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, and biology.

Art subjects: English, history, geography and languages.

Technical subjects: engineering, building, commerce, domestic science (cookery, needlework, etc.), rural science.

Special subjects: art, handicrafts (including artistic crafts), physical education and music.

The Committee made a significant statement on the status and service conditions of the teachers trained at the Technical College.

With some trepidation we approach the subject of conditions of service in the teaching profession. The question of salary scales is a delicate one involving the Civil Service Commissioner and, indeed, everyone concerned with finance including the Legislative Council. We do, however, wish to place on record our conviction that there should not be a wide gap between men and women from the Teacher Training Department of the Technical College and University Graduates who subsequently train as teachers.<sup>19</sup>

In the Engineering, Mining, Tele-Communications and Building fields the following subjects and examination schedules were recommended for the College's programme.

Building: Advanced Building subjects which were required for the Final Examinations of the City and Guild (including the ancillary subjects) and also possibly later to the qualifications of the Institute of Builders of the United Kingdom.

Civil Engineering: Selected subjects in preparation for the

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 28.





Sections A and B of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institute of Civil Engineers.

Mechanical and Electrical Engineering: Advanced subjects required for the Final Examinations in Engineering of the City and Guild of London Institute (including ancillary subjects); also Sections A and B of the Associate Membership Examination of the Institution of Mechanical and Electrical Engineers.

Mining Engineering: Subjects as required for posts of responsibility in the mining undertakings, e.g., Second Class Colliery Managers Certificate in the case of Collieries, also Engineering applicable to mining.

Tele-Communications: Basic Mathematics and sciences as required for the examination of the City and Guild.

Agriculture, Forestry, Veterinary Science and Surveying: In Agriculture, (a) a Diploma course was recommended as an alternative to a degree. This would be particularly suitable for the needs of Field Officers; (b) a lower course was also required for Agricultural Assistants and (c) a combined course in Agriculture and Engineering was needed for Agricultural Engineers.

In the field of Forestry, a Diploma course for Assistant Forestry Officers was recommended as an alternative to a degree. A second might combine Forestry and Engineering.

The Committee recommended that the course for veterinary assistants should entitle them to the same statutory qualifications as granted to University graduates in veterinary science. It also hoped that the



Diploma course in Surveying would encourage students to prepare for the qualifications of the Chartered Institute of Surveyors of the United Kingdom.

Medical Auxiliary Services: The College was expected to provide training for pharmacists, medical laboratory technicians, nurses, sanitary inspectors, dental mechanics, opticians, radiographers and physiotherapists.

Secretarial and Commercial Training: Subjects offered by the College might include Transport, Exchange Mechanism, Accounting and Banking, Economic Theory, Economic Geography, Economic and Social History, Constitution of Business Firms, Commercial Law, Company Law, Foreign Languages. In Public Administration, the College might offer courses for officials of Township Authorities and Native Administrations.

Extra-Mural Courses: It was suggested that in Nigeria there was considerable scope for the close collaboration of the University College and the proposed Technical College in extra-mural activities. Their respective spheres of activity should be complementary and over-lapping should be avoided.<sup>20</sup>

Correspondence Courses: In view of the "sandwich" system envisaged and of the successes already achieved by many students through private study,

We formed the conclusion that it would be advantageous if at the end of each period of attendance at College a

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 36.





project of reading and questions to be answered could be given by the teachers, to be undertaken by the students for completion before they return for their next period at college.<sup>21</sup>

Women and Technical College: The Committee thought that many of the courses, particularly the secretarial and commercial training, would be suitable for women, although they were not designed specifically for them. The Committee believed that Agriculture, Drawing Office and the Medical Auxiliary work also provided less obvious but very suitable work for women. To serve the special needs of the women, however, such courses as Domestic Science, Catering and Hotel Management might be planned.

#### The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology

The Report of the Committee was presented before the Legislative Council as Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1950. The recommendations were accepted in principle, but a change was made in the location of the main branch of the College. The Committee had recommended that this should be at Ibadan, but the legislators from the Northern and Eastern Regions objected to the concentration of the country's institutions of higher education in Ibadan. The Legislative Council, therefore, decided to build the main branch at Zaria in the North.

Zaria had a number of advantages. It was close to the Agricultural Schools and Experimental stations at Samaru and Shika. Zaria was a railway centre. It had a good Government press and the town offered great prospects for development as a commercial centre.

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 37.



The importance attached to the College overshadowed the recommendations for the building of technical institutes and production workshops in the large industrial centres. These were in fact not built.

The building programme of the Ibadan branch began almost immediately, but the first branch to take in students was the Zaria branch. On January 26th, 1952, eleven students enrolled at the Zaria branch. The writer was one of these eleven students. As no detailed official records of the early career of the College had been published (at the time of writing) and as those early developments later proved very significant in the growth of higher education in Nigeria, the writer is convinced that his personal involvement in the College puts him in a unique position to throw some light on the factors and forces which shaped the eventual fate of the first Nigerian Technical College. For these reasons the writer has rendered the account which follows as a first person story.

All of us--the eleven students--who became the Foundation Students of Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, Zaria, on January 26th, 1952, had come from the same high school--the Government Secondary School at Zaria. All but three of us had only just left the school the month before, after writing the examination for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate. We had been recruited to the new College after a good deal of persuasion and promises. None of us really understood the aims and objectives of the College, the scope of its activities, and its relationship with the University College, Ibadan, which was the only institution of higher education that we knew about.

At our former school, it had become an established practice to





select some of the best students in the School Certificate class for a few months preparation for the annual entrance examination into the University College, Ibadan. This practice was discontinued with our class with the obvious intention of channeling our aspirations for higher education through the new College. I resented this more than anyone else but I had either to elect to enrol at the new institution or give up the idea of further studies and enter in employment. Thus, I was from the beginning, a frustrated student. This frustration was the spring-source of my later actions.

When the College opened, there were no buildings, no equipment, no planned course of study, and no staff, except for one solitary senior lecturer, and a principal (W. H. Thorp, himself). Thorp was based in Lagos and did not even visit his first students until very late in the year. The College opened on the premises of our former school. We, the students, lived in the same dormitories to which we had belonged in the high school. We ate the same food, in the same dining hall, received our lectures in one of the school's laboratories, and for the most part, we were taught by the teachers of the school. During the first year the spirit of the old school pervaded all our activities. We did not feel as part of a new institution.

W. A. J. Musson our senior lecturer, had told us that our class was going to undergo a four year training as non-graduate secondary school teachers. I was restless, dissatisfied and very vocal in the expression of my dissatisfaction. I relentlessly plied Musson with such questions as "Why must we spend four years at the College to obtain qualifications which





were inferior to the university degree which we could have recieved during the same period of studies?' "Was the College a design to prevent the students from Northern Nigeria from aspiring to a recognized standard in higher education?" "What are the employment prospects and status of students who eventually complete the four year course?" "When are we going to have a planned course of study, have more lecturers, and have buildings of our own?"

Musson was plainly embarrassed by these interrogations which became frequent, and were soon taken over by the other students in the class. Musson had had no previous teaching or administrative experience in this kind of college and he produced no satisfactory answers to our many questions. He became evasive and often retorted that he was not the final authority on matters concerning the policy and administration of the College. This was true, but there was no one else to ask and all of us were upset because the future was so uncertain and no one would reassure us that we were not merely guinea pigs for an educational experiment.

Towards the end of the first year, K. O. Williams, a graduate of the Universities of London and Cambridge and who had had some experience in the Sudan, was appointed Vice-Principal of the College. Williams was at first friendly and he gave us the kind of assurance that we had asked for. He promised to look into all our problems and difficulties, but by the end of the year it became clear that he did not have the answer to most of our questions.

Shortly before the College closed for the year I called a meeting of the class, which had been reduced to eight. Three of the students had



been sent away. They had failed the Cambridge School Certificate examination. Incidentally, one of those three later obtained a first-class honours degree from a very famous British University and became Head of a Government Department. The meeting unanimously resolved that, in view of the fact that the College had failed to offer the students a planned course of training, and in view of the fact that all the students had obtained the School Certificate, that the Vice-Principal kindly consider the adoption of the Higher School Certificate programme as a logical and desirable step in the development of the College.

Williams at first gently explained to us that our request was impracticable. He pointed out that the achievement of the School Certificate standard was insufficient reason to presume that we could obtain the Higher School Certificate. He supported his contention with statistics showing that in England (where the secondary schools had better facilities and more qualified staff), only a small proportion of the pupils who passed the School Certificate examination went on to the Higher School Certificate classes. He told us frankly that the establishment of a Higher School Certificate was a pretentious move in the direction of the university and that it was contrary to the main aims and objectives of the College.

We next submitted a petition to Williams repeating our request for a Higher School Certificate course and making it clear that we had unanimously resolved to withdraw from the College if it was not granted. What was more, we hinted that the new students who were seeking admission for the following year were in support of our demands and had agreed not





to enrol if we, the Foundation students, decided to withdraw.

We felt that Williams reacted by alternately threatening us with dire consequences and then attempting to persuade us to drop our demands. He also tried to pacify us individually. The Emir of Zaria was called in to intervene and even the Regional Minister of Education came all the way from Kaduna to talk to us. We held firm and pointed out that our demands were reasonable under the circumstances. We felt that the Emir of Zaria sympathized with our point of view, but it would be contrary to the African tradition of diplomatic procedure to tell Williams that he was wrong and that the students were right. He merely hinted that if we dropped our truculent attitude and threat, some satisfactory solution was possible. We were glad to do this. We surrendered all the copies of the statement which we had prepared for release to the press should we fail to reach an agreement. Williams finally granted our request. The College was closed for four months to allow sufficient time for the new course to be planned and to allow time for the recruitment of more lecturers.

The College re-opened in April, 1953, and eighteen new students enrolled in the first year course. Meanwhile, a temporary building had been completed on the school premises and the second year class moved into it. The new students remained in the school dormitories. There were a number of problems to be overcome before we could settle down to the second year's work. The new students insisted on embarking on the Higher School Certificate course but this would have put all the students on the same level. The difficulty was resolved by preparing the Foundation class for the Higher School Certificate and the new and all subsequent classes



for the Advanced Level subjects at General Certificate of Education examination of the University of London. The arrangement gave a six month lead to the Foundation Class.

Just as Williams was congratulating himself on having avoided the development of another student revolt, I came up with the suggestion that the senior class be allowed to complete the two year Higher School Certificate programme in one year. The reason I gave was that the class had already spent one year which although not directed towards any examination goal, was not wasted and provided adequate background for justifying an accelerated and intensive course for the Higher School Certificate. I did not receive the support of my class for this move and Williams promptly rejected it. I nevertheless maintained that my proposal was feasible and I announced my intention to follow it through unaided and as a private candidate. Williams considered me quite a nuisance, but decided that I could organize any scheme of private study I wanted, provided that I followed the regular course prescribed for me at the College and also provided that no complaint was made by any lecturer about progress in my College assignments.

At the end of the year, I was allowed to travel down to Kaduna to write the Higher School Certificate papers as a private candidate. When the results of the examination were published in February, 1954, and I was successful in all the papers, the College was embarrassed. On the basis of the results, I asked for, and was promptly granted direct admission to the University College, Ibadan. I also applied for a scholarship which would enable me to transfer to the University College but it was





just as promptly rejected. I had established my suitability for university studies but the Government saw dangerous possibilities in the precedent that my transfer might establish. The Government wanted a Technical College and not an institution to be used as a feeder to the University. To discourage others who might wish to follow my footsteps, I not only failed to get a new scholarship, but was also relieved of the one I held at the Nigerian College.

I did, in fact, enrol at the University College without Government aid. This caused a great deal of speculation and unrest at the Nigerian College. There were many other students who considered the prospects of a university degree sufficiently attractive to justify taking the same risks that I had taken. The idea of using the Higher School Certificate or the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education as a certain step to the university caught on. The Government policy with respect to the Nigerian College was modified and the preparation of students for direct entry to the universities became its most important function during the ten years of its existence.

#### Later Development of the Nigerian College<sup>22</sup>

The Ibadan and Enugu branches of the College were opened in 1953 and 1954 respectively. A few professional courses were started. The most successful of the courses was the Engineering course which later gained recognition as the Faculty of Engineering of the University College,

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<sup>22</sup>Undocumented statements in the rest of this chapter were also based on the writer's personal knowledge.





Ibadan, and was thus able to present candidates for the B. Sc. Engineering degree of the University of London, under the Special Relationship Scheme. The Zaria branch also had a School of Architecture, and in 1962 --the last year of the independent existence of the Nigerian College-- five students passed the final examinations of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

A Teachers' Course was also eventually established at Zaria. The course was mostly undertaken by those students who did not possess enough Advanced Level passes to gain admission to the University College, Ibadan. The teaching course lasted one year. There were also courses for teachers of physical education and teachers of fine arts. There was, too, a regular four year course for the Diploma in Fine Art and Commercial Design.

At the Ibadan branch, the following professional courses were developed: pharmacy (three years), accountancy (seven years), secretaryship (four years), and local government (one year). The accounting course was recognized for the examinations of the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants, and the course in secretaryship led to the final examination of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries.

At Enugu there were sub-professional courses in land surveying and estate management.

#### Sequel to the Story of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology

The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology existed as a separate institution for only ten years. During that period its student



population rose from eight in 1952 to over one thousand in 1960. Its temporary huts and buildings had given way to a vast array of ferro-concrete and glass structures surpassed in magnificance only by those of the University College, Ibadan. The teaching staff increased from one solitary lecturer to over one hundred. But as impressive as these figures were, the College as a technical institution seemed doomed from the start.

There was nothing basically wrong with the idea of an institution aimed at giving some form of higher education which was different from what was obtainable in a university. The College failed, however, partly because of timing and partly because of its management. The Nigerian College was established so soon after the dissolution of the old Yaba College. The memory and the psychological effect of the inferior status of Yaba were still very fresh in the public mind. Even the University College had a very difficult time avoiding associations with the standards of the Yaba College. The Nigerian College with its avowed policy of establishing inferior standards, generated suspicions and hostility. Few capable students could view such standards as terminal achievements. Like the writer, many students who enrolled at the Nigerian College were equally determined to abandon their courses as soon as there was the prospect of a full university education.

Saunders made a valid point when he commented that the College was "conceived at a time when Britain was undecided about the future of technological education and research and at birth (the college)<sup>23</sup> conformed to

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<sup>23</sup>Writer's interpolation





no well recognized pattern in the British educational system."<sup>24</sup>

And failing to conform to any recognized pattern, the College sought to recruit its own students from the same source upon which the University College depended. As a result of the understandable preference for the internationally recognized standards of London University degrees, the Nigerian College could not but develop into a very poor second choice.

The Nigerian College failed for another set of reasons. It was saddled with the handicap of the physical separation of its component colleges. The academic and administrative organization, therefore, lacked effective co-ordination. The setting up of separate General Certificate of Education courses at each of the branches was wasteful of staff and buildings and equipment. All such courses could have been provided at one centre. The double role of principal and rector (principal executive and academic chief) which was assumed by C. A. Hart for five years<sup>25</sup> was too great a concentration of power in one individual. The decisions pertaining to one branch often had to be referred to Zaria and shuttled to and fro. This inevitably caused delay and confusion.

The college suffered wave after wave of student crisis and demonstrations. The Vice-Principal at each centre often did not have enough power to act. The branches might have had a more healthy existence if they were co-operating but independent units. Another administrative

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<sup>24</sup>Saunders, p. 45.

<sup>25</sup>Thorp retired as principal in 1953 and he was succeeded by Dr. C. A. Hart.



muddle was introduced in the person of the first Chairman of the College. Sir Sydney Phillipson had too many responsibilities. He was concurrently the Chairman of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, Chairman of the Council for the University College, Ibadan, and Chairman of the University College Hospital Board of Management.

Like the University College, Ibadan, the Nigerian College found it difficult to keep down its spendings. In March, 1953, the Nigerian Government had approved for it, a capital expenditure of L1,963,318 for buildings, layout and equipment, books, furniture and fittings. The United Kingdom made an initial grant of L600,000, followed by a further grant of L300,000. By the end of the 1960-61 year, it became necessary for the Nigerian Government to pay a further sum of L1,000,000 for the up-keep of the College.

The Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology has ceased to exist. Following the findings and recommendations of the Ashby Commission the three branches of the College have been incorporated into new university institutions. The Ibadan branch became the nucleus of the University of Ife and the Enugu branch was absorbed into the University of Nigeria. A University for Northern Nigeria was created around the existing nuclei of academic activities. These included the main branch of the Nigerian College at Zaria, the Institute of Administration at Zaria, the Agricultural and Experimental Research station at Samaru and the School of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Kano.

The writer is of the opinion that the demise of the Nigerian College as a non-degree granting Technical College in 1962 has pulled no sentimental strings in the hearts of its former students. Its transformation



into three separate university institutions was by far the best thing that could have happened. To the writer, the eventual fate of the College was the triple fulfilment of a boyish wish and the realization of a frustrated ambition, first cherished a decade earlier.





## CHAPTER X

### EDUCATION UNDER THE REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS, 1952-60

#### Educational Developments in Western Nigeria

The election in the Western Region was won by the Action Group, a political party which had been formed only a few months before.

In July, 1952, the Regional Minister of Education, S. O. Awokoya, introduced in the House of Assembly, a White Paper which outlined the Government's proposals to establish a universal primary education scheme in 1955. To make the scheme a practical proposition, further developments were envisaged in two main directions. The first was in the direction of teacher training. A large number of new teachers would be required for the projected increases in the number of schools and in enrolment. To meet this exigency, the Local Authorities and the Voluntary Agencies were asked to establish several more Grade III teacher training colleges. The Government agreed to make very generous financial contributions towards the cost of the new colleges. As the colleges themselves required vastly increased staff and specialists, several schemes for recruitment and training were considered and put into operation as quickly as possible.

One scheme for the local training of advanced teachers was sponsored by the International Co-operation Administration of the U. S. A., and operated by the staff of Ohio University. The scheme was designed to train non-graduate but experienced Grade II teachers for teaching in the Grade III colleges, the secondary schools and primary schools.



For the successful operation of the universal primary education scheme it was also necessary to provide for the primary school leavers increased opportunities for some form of secondary education or vocational training. The West Regional Government found a solution to this by establishing concurrently with the primary scheme, a three year post primary school--the secondary modern school. The series of unprecedented educational developments was bewildering to everyone including the educators themselves. One Senior Inspector of Education wrote:

When, during the third week of January, 1955, the Nigerian people opened their morning newspaper and read about 12,500 new primary classrooms which had come suddenly into use, they had little idea that behind the scenes the final preparations were being made for the launching of yet another educational project. Yet, a week or so later, the parents of children in the Western Region were told that 260 Secondary Modern Schools were about to be opened and that all children who recently had gained the Primary School Leaving Certificate could apply for admission.<sup>1</sup>

The new secondary modern schools were to give a three year course in Arithmetic, English, Yoruba, Geography, History, Civics, Needlework, Domestic Science, Handicrafts, Rural Science, Physical Education, Religious Instruction, Music and Art.

Another channel which the Regional Government made available for the primary school leavers, was vocational training through the Trade Centres. A Trade Centre was opened at Sapele in 1953 to offer courses in carpentry, joinery and sheetmetal working. Electricians, motormechanics, fitters and machinists were also trained. The Ijebu Ode Trade Centre was

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<sup>1</sup>R. E. Crookall, "Secondary Modern School in Western Nigeria," Overseas Education, XXXII, No. 4, January, 1961, p. 154.





opened in 1957 and since then, others have been established at Oshogbo, Ondo, Oyo and Agege. A Technical Institute and a Technical College have also opened at Ibadan.

Farm centres have been established to encourage school leavers to set up modern farms with Government aid.

During 1954, a year before the universal primary education scheme was launched, there were 457,000 pupils in the primary schools of Western Nigeria. In the first year of the scheme enrolment rose to 815,000 and by 1958 it had reached the figure of 1,037,388. The scale of the educational enterprise in Western Nigeria during recent years is illustrated by the following tables:

TABLE XXII

DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL SERVICES IN WESTERN NIGERIA, 1955-1961  
(Number and Classification of Educational Institutes)

Year	Primary	Secondary		Teacher Training	
		Modern	Grammar	Grade III	Grade II
1955	6,274	270	73	59	25
1956	6,484	106	90	69	27
1957	6,628	254	108	71	27
1958	6,670	265	117	70	28
1959	6,576	442	139	67	30
1960	6,500	533	167	69	31
1961	6,500	600	180	64	35

Source: J. E. Adetoro, A Primary History Course for Western Nigeria (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 65.



TABLE XXIII

## EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN WESTERN NIGERIA, 1956-58

Division	1956-57	1957-58	Increase	Decrease
General Administration	£208,351	£187,606	--	£20,745
General Education	£500,248	£725,854	£225,606	
Grants-in-Aid	£5,240,610	£4,571,588		£669,022
Technical Education	£103,942	£81,302		£22,640
Inspectorate	£84,885	£19,329		£65,556
Total	£6,136,036	£5,585,679	£225,606	£775,963
Net Increase			£550,357	

Source: Triennial Report on Education, 1st April, 1955 to 31st March, 1958. Western Regional Legislative Sessional Paper No. 11 of 1957, p. 10.

Some of the figures in Table XXII show surprising features which require explanation. For example, there was a drastic reduction in the number of secondary modern schools from 270 in 1955 to just 106 in 1956 before it rose again in 1957. The temporary decrease in 1956 was an illustration of the situation in which over-enthusiasm in the new schemes was allowed to get the better of judgment. The initial figure of 270 modern schools was more than the Region's local authorities and the voluntary agencies could maintain. Many of these schools had to be closed or amalgamated with others because of the lack of staff, inadequate buildings and equipment. The new modern schools were the only group of educational institutions which did not receive direct grants from the Regional Governments for their running expenses.





The number of grammar schools had more than doubled during the six year period shown in Table XXII. All the new schools were either local authority, mission or private schools. There was, too, a noteworthy trend with regard to the Grade III teacher training colleges. Their number in the Region decreased from a peak number of 71 in 1957 to only 64 in 1961. The decrease was accounted for by the up-grading of some to the Grade II status.

Since the Regional Governments were set up in 1952, the Western Regional Government had put tremendous efforts in educational developments. The proportion of the budget spent on education amounted to over 40 per cent. This represented a phenomenal rise from the paltry figure of 1.5 per cent which the country as a whole spent on education in 1917. Eastern Nigeria's efforts to promote education have also been considerable.

#### Educational Development in Eastern Nigeria

By the time that the Macpherson Constitution came into effect in 1952, the operation of the existing educational provisions was already in trouble in Eastern Nigeria. The main problem was financial. It will be recalled that the Phillipson and Holt Report of 1948 had recommended the institution of an Assumed Local Contribution as a basis for the computation of grants-in-aid to schools. In 1950 a Committee was appointed to investigate the possibility of introducing education rates in Eastern Nigeria. The scheme which was put forward as a result of this investigation proved unworkable. The rates were not paid and school managers who





depended on the grants from rates found themselves in an embarrassing situation; they became heavily in debt when they tried to meet the financial commitments to their teachers. The original education rate was finally abandoned by 1956.

Meanwhile, the promised Universal Primary Education Scheme in the West had been launched and for political reasons, the challenge which this presented to the Eastern Government could not be ignored. Accordingly, preparations were made to launch the Eastern Universal Primary Scheme (U.P.E.). In 1956 some 6,000 registration centres were set up throughout the Region and more than 481,691 new pupils were registered by the end of the year. About 300,000 of the children registered were to be allocated to existing schools and the rest were to be put into new schools still to be built. A 1959 Committee appointed to review the condition of education in the Region commented on the preparatory work for the scheme as follows:

There was, of course, a great problem of finding staff for the increased number of primary schools. Training facilities were already being expanded, but the increase in output would still take more years to materialize. To avoid an unchecked dilution and a general lowering of standards all over the Region, a "category" system of staffing was instituted. Briefly, it required that trained teachers should be posted only to schools which were already receiving grant earnings in 1956 (Category A). The new local authority schools and a smaller number of voluntary Agency schools were not to be staffed with trained teachers until a stipulated staffing standard should have been attained in all the Category A schools under an Agency's or Council's management. These are the Category B schools.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Report on the Review of the Educational System in Eastern Nigeria, Official Document No. 19 of 1962 (Enugu: The Government Printer, 1962), p. 9. This Report will hereafter be known as the Dike Committee Report.



In February, 1957, the U. P. E. scheme was started in Eastern Nigeria and all the new schools were accordingly staffed by untrained Category C teachers.

Apart from the poor quality of their staff, the Universal Primary Education schools had other serious defects as compared with neighbouring Voluntary Agency Schools. These include: (a) poor accommodations; (b) inadequacy or absence of equipment; (c) absence of an esprit de corps largely due to their lack of tradition and evolutionary growth; and (d) inexperience of the managers, many of whom were secretaries of the Councils, who had had no previous experience with education.<sup>3</sup>

As the Regional Government did not pay for the cost of the new Local Authority school buildings and expected the Local Authorities and the communities they served to bear that burden, the result was that many temporary and unsatisfactory expedients were used--shelters, rented buildings and unsuitable accommodations. The following table gives the scale of education effort before and during the first two years that the U. P. E. scheme was in existence.

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 11.





TABLE XXIV  
EASTERN REGION PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENTS, 1956-58

	1956	1957	1958
Number of Schools	5,066	6,989	6,631
<u>Classes</u>			
Infant I	234,021	377,450	322,443
Infant II	145,845	260,623	308,128
Standard I	113,090	168,891	176,202
Standard II	86,644	126,625	132,487
Standard III	64,767	94,515	92,013
Standard IV	51,751	77,870	78,056
Standard V	42,370	56,691	57,100
Standard VI	35,756	46,502	52,842
Total	775,144	1,209,167	1,221,271

Source: Dike Committee Report, p. 11.

During the year 1958 the operation of the U. P. E. programme was modified. Although originally advertised as a free scheme, the Regional Government found it increasingly difficult to meet the demands made upon it by the scheme. Accordingly, a new system of Assumed Local Contribution was introduced. For Infant Classes I and II this was ten shillings per year, per pupil. For pupils in Standards I to IV, it was one pound sterling per year. The payment for Standard V was four pounds and ten shillings and Standard VI was six pounds, per pupil. The modification aroused angry protests from many quarters and this was made worse when



further increases were announced at the end of 1958. The Infant Classes were to be free, but contributions per pupil in Standards II to IV were raised to two pounds. The corresponding increase for Standards III and IV was to four pounds and Standards V and VI contributed six pounds per pupil, per year.

The Assumed Local Contribution which the Regional Government levied could be raised in any number of ways--as direct fees paid by the pupils, as local voluntary contributions by the communities served by the schools or as rates collected by the local councils. Again, the Assumed Local Contribution scheme proved a failure. The hypothetical size of a class of 30 upon which the contributions were based proved by far too large, particularly in the rural areas. Once more teachers' salaries could not be paid. Many teachers were laid off and the scheme was in danger of collapse. As a result of the many representations made to the Regional Government and also in consideration of the possible adverse effects which the dissatisfaction might produce in the event of an election, the proposals were modified in December, 1958.

The free education was to be extended at an estimated cost of £500,000 and the Assumed Local Contribution rate was lowered by the sum of ten shillings in Standards II to IV. Also, the hypothetical class of 30 pupils was reduced to 20. The Assumed Local Contributions for the secondary schools was fixed at twelve pounds per pupil and the capitation grant for each training college student was increased to eighteen pounds.

These measures notwithstanding, the fact remained that the Eastern Regional Government was in a great deal of financial trouble over her





educational development schemes. It was at this stage that a committee under the chairmanship of Professor K. O. Dike was appointed to review the educational system of the region, in particular,

1. To investigate the organization, administration and management of education in the Eastern Region.
2. To investigate the arrangement of the curricula of the primary, secondary, teacher training, commercial and technical institutions in the Region.
3. To investigate the adequacy of the method of examination and certification in all educational institutions of the Region.
4. To investigate the system of vocational training and vocational guidance and in the primary and secondary schools in the Region.
5. To investigate the distribution of grants-in-aid in vogue in the Region.
6. To investigate the operation of the Universal Primary Education scheme and its effect on the budget and finance of the Region.
7. To consider whether any changes are desirable in respect to paragraphs (2 - 6) of these terms of Reference.
8. To make its findings and recommendations.<sup>4</sup>

The findings and recommendations of the Committee were not officially placed before the Regional Parliament until 1962. They will, therefore, be considered under the general section of "Education for Nationhood."

#### Higher Education in Project in Eastern Nigeria, 1954-58

While planning of educational advance at the lower levels was

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 3.





taking place, attention was also being paid to the need for training men and women, at the highest intellectual and professional levels. The University College, Ibadan, had been established to train such leaders but one university institution with a very limited intake (156 during the 1954-55 academic year) was quite inadequate to meet the needs of Africa's most populous country.

Between 1948 and 1959 Ibadan University College produced only 234 arts, 150 science and 37 agricultural science graduates. It did not produce any graduates in medicine until 1960, no engineers and no veterinary surgeons and only 7 students had been trained for the post-graduate certificate in education.<sup>5</sup>

Also, it has been indicated that the University College was a very expensive institution to run. Another criticism was that it was too rigidly patterned after the Oxford and Cambridge. It was accused of the tendency to breed snobbery. In short, it was not sufficiently adaptable to meet the needs of an emergent country.

One of the most vocal and most influential critics of the College was Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe who, as premier of the Eastern Region, took steps towards the fulfilment of his dream of higher education for Nigeria. For more than two decades Dr. Azikiwe had insisted that the African had been miseducated. In one of his early books, he asked,

Why should African youth depend upon Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Yale, Sorbonne, Berlin, Heidelberg, for intellectual growth? These universities are mirrors which reflect their

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<sup>5</sup>Source of figures: Saunders, pp. 208-214.



particular social idiosyncracies. An African graduate of these universities, unless he has developed his individuality, is nothing short of a megaphone, yea, a carbon copy of these societies. Hence, I say that he is mis-educated.<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Azikiwe waited a long time for his opportunity to come before he could take steps towards the provision of a more comprehensive, more balanced and more meaningful form of higher education. On 19th April, 1954, the Executive Council decided to send an economic mission to Europe and North America with multiple objectives in view.

The Economic Mission's terms of reference were:

(a) to attract investors to Eastern Nigeria for the purpose of economic development;

(b) to make contacts for the expansion of our trade, commerce and industries;

(c) to seek co-operation for training and recruiting technicians;

(d) to make arrangements for facilitating higher vocational education in Nigeria.<sup>7</sup>

It is the Mission's recommendations with regard to University Education that are of particular interest in this study. In its Report the Mission declared that:

In order that the foundation of Nigerian leadership shall be securely laid, to the end that this country shall cease to imitate the excrescences of a civilization which is not rooted in African life, we recommend that a fully fledged university should be established in this Region without further delay. Such a higher institution of learning

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<sup>6</sup>Nnamdi Azikiwe, Renascent Africa (Accra: 1937), p. 135.

<sup>7</sup>Economic Rehabilitation of Eastern Nigeria, Report of the Economic Mission to Europe and North America. Sessional Paper No. 6 of 1955 (Enugu: The Government Printer), p. 3.





should not only be cultural according to the classical concept of universities, but it should also be vocational in its objective and Nigerian in its content.<sup>8</sup>

The Mission further proposed that the new university should have Institutes of Agriculture, Architecture, Forestry, Diplomacy, Domestic Science, Dramatics, Education, Finance, Fine Arts, Fishery, Journalism, Librarianship, Music, Pharmacy, Physical Education, Public Administration, Public Health, Secretarial Studies, Social Work, Surveying and Veterinary Science.<sup>9</sup>

The proposed university was to be co-educational and residential. It was to inculcate the idea of the dignity of labour, hard work, sacrifice and self-determination. Its students were to be encouraged to work to meet their university expenses.

The Mission also made some other recommendations with regard to the existing institutions in the Region.

We also recommend that Government should transform Umuahia Government College, Owerri Secondary School, Government Teacher Training Centre, Uyo and Afikpo Government College into university colleges offering courses in education, the arts and sciences. We suggest that, with Government grants, voluntary agencies should study the possibility of transforming the following, together with their allied institutions into university colleges: (i) St. Mark's College, Awka; (ii) St. Charles' College, Onitsha.<sup>10</sup>

The Mission proposed six Faculties with the following subjects and departments:

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.



### 1. Faculty of Arts

Ancient Languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew)

African Languages (Arabic, Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba)

Anthropology

Literature

Economics

Philosophy

English Language

Political Science

European Languages (French, German, Spanish)

Psychology

History

Sociology

### 2. Faculty of Engineering

Aeronautical Engineering

Electrical Engineering

Air Conditioning

Marine Engineering

Automobile Engineering

Mechanical Engineering

Chemical Engineering

Mining Engineering

Civil Engineering

Radio and Television

Diesel Engineering

Refrigeration Engineering

Drafting and Design

Structural Engineering

### 3. Faculty of Law

Administrative Law

Evidence and Civil Procedure

Common Law

International Law

Company Law

Jurisprudence

Conflict of Laws

Legal History

Constitutional Laws

Mohammedan Law

Construction of Documents

Real Property

Contract

Roman Law



Conveyancing

Tort

Criminal and Procedure

Trusts

Domestic Relations

Wills

Equity

#### 4. Faculty of Medicine

College of Medicine and Surgery

University Hospital

Institute of Medical Research

#### 5. Faculty of Science

Anatomy

Cytology

Astronomy

Ecology

Bacteriology

Embroyology

Biology

Geology

Botany

Genetics

Chemistry

Histology

Mathematics

Pathology

Metallurgy

Physics

Meteorology

Physiology

Mineralogy

Statistics

Parasitology

Taxonomy

Zoology

#### 6. Faculty of Theology

Christian Doctrines

Philosophy of Religion





Comparative Religion	Psychology of Religion
Ecclesiastical History	Religious Education
Homiletics	The New Testament
Missions	Theology
Pastoral Theology	

In its Report the Mission was influenced by the principles which led the Government of the United States of America to pass the Morrill Act in 1862. These principles, now known as the 'land grant philosophy' aimed at modifying the traditional classical concept of the university by introducing practical courses in agriculture and mechanical arts. The Mission was also inspired by the spirit of such famous Negro institutes as Hampton and Tuskegee.

The recommendations of the Mission were accepted by the East Regional Government and on May 18th, 1955, a bill embodying the main recommendations was placed before the Eastern House of Assembly. The bill sought to "establish a university in the Eastern Region of Nigeria, and to provide for the governance thereof and matters incidental."

In his speech on that occasion, the Premier of Eastern Nigeria, The Honourable Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, expressed his support quoting the following words of the Mission:

In order that the foundations of Nigerian leadership shall be securely laid, to the end that this country shall cease to imitate the excrescences of a civilization which is not rooted in African life, I strongly support this Bill to the effect that a full fledged university be established in this Region without further delay...We should not offer



any apologies for making such a progressive move.<sup>11</sup>

He ended his speech by expressing the hope that,

With the establishment of this university, it will be complementary with the Ibadan University College, co-operating with it, drawing inspiration from the efforts, and gaining experience from this pioneer institution of higher education.<sup>12</sup>

The bill was passed and the proposed institution was called The University of Nigeria. It was empowered,

1. To hold forth to all classes and communities without any distinction whatsoever an arrangement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education.

2. To promote research and advancement of science and learning.

3. To organize, improve and extend education of a university standard.<sup>13</sup>

For three years after the passing of the University of Nigeria Law, nothing further was heard about the project and the political opponents of the Regional Government maintained that it was nothing more than a propaganda stunt. In 1958, however, the University of Nigeria (Provisional Council) Law was passed to create a temporary body to perform all the preliminary duties connected with the establishment of the university.

The Provisional Council was limited to five members and Dr. Azikiwe

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<sup>11</sup>Zik Selected Speeches, pp. 282-283.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>13</sup>University of Nigeria Prospectus, 1961-62, pp. 5-6.





was appointed its Chairman. It was also in 1958 that the Government of Eastern Nigeria invited the United Kingdom and the Government of the United States of America to send a team of experts to advise on the planning of the new university. Accordingly, a three man team was sent to Eastern Nigeria. The members of the team were J. W. Cook, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Exeter, England; Dr. John A. Hannah, President of Michigan State University, U. S. A.; and Dr. Glen L. Taggart, Dean of International Programs, Michigan State University, U. S. A. The team came out under the joint sponsorship of the International Co-operation Administration of the U. S. A. and the Inter-University Council for Higher Education (U. K.).

After considering the existing provisions, recommendations and other relevant factors, the team unanimously endorsed,

That the development of the University of Nigeria, based upon the concept of service to problems and needs of Nigeria, is a desirable project and one that should receive support from any source which could help to make it a sound endeavour.<sup>14</sup>

In June, 1959, the East Regional Government sent an educational mission to the United States of America. The mission after conferences with representatives of the International Co-operation Administration, the Michigan State University, and the University of New Hampshire, made a recommendation to the East Regional Government that the University of Nigeria be opened in September, 1960, to mark the celebrations of

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<sup>14</sup>Official Document No. 4 of 1958, Eastern Region of Nigeria (Enugu: The Government Printer, 1958), p. 7.



Nigerian independence.

The Provisional Council of the University did not hold its first meeting until 3rd March, 1960, and at the meeting the Council's Chairman, Dr. Azikiwe, reviewed the progress made and the fundamental factors underlying the philosophy of the University.

The subsequent opening and growth of the University will be dealt with in Chapter XII.

### Educational Developments in Northern Nigeria

The decade from 1938 to 1948 saw a triple increase in the volume of educational activities in Northern Nigeria. At the beginning of this period there were in the North, 227 Government and 383 voluntary agency schools with a total pupil enrolment of just 25,067. The figures for 1948 showed that there were 81,827 in all elementary and primary schools. The breakdown of this figure would indicate that 30,102 pupils--22,527 boys and 7,575 girls--were enrolled in 463 NA schools. The voluntary agency schools (mainly missions) had increased to 830 and had a combined enrolment of 51,723--made up of 40,491 boys and 11,228 girls.

In addition, there were 2,085 pupils in the Middle Schools and nearly 200 at Kaduna (formerly Katsina) College.

In 1954 the number of schools was as follows:

Government Secondary Schools	2
NA Primary and Elementary Schools	744
Assisted Voluntary Schools	653
Non-Assisted Voluntary Schools	372
Total	<u>1,771</u>





As a result of the Ten Year Development Plan for Education, it was decided to give greater attention to the expansion of secondary education facilities in Northern Nigeria. Accordingly, during the 1950's, the middle schools were up-graded into junior secondary schools, and by 1958 there were 24 government secondary schools.

New teacher training institutions were also opened in various parts of the Region to meet the needs of the expanding primary schools. In 1958 the enrolment in the schools had again trebled, reaching the figure of 250,000. As in the West and the East, the possibility of introducing free, universal primary education was given serious consideration. As a first step towards this end, a one man commission was appointed in 1961 to review the administration of education in the Region. The treatment of this must, however, await a different chapter as it falls within the survey of education for nationhood.

#### Education in the Federal Territory of Lagos

One of the most burning political issues during the decade before Nigeria's independence was the determination of the status of Lagos--the country's capital, chief port and commercial centre.

Lagos was ceded to the British Crown as a Colony in 1861 and has since enjoyed the distinction of being a British colony, whereas the rest of the country was regarded as British Protectorates. It enjoyed its own separate administration until 1906 when it was joined to the Southern Nigeria Protectorate. Even then Lagos was accorded a superior status and when the first Legislative Council was established in 1923, Lagos





alone was represented by three of the only four elected members on the Council.

When the Richards' Constitution was introduced in 1946 and the Regions became the units of administration, the question of the status of Lagos began to agitate the minds of many people. Under the Macpherson constitution of 1951, it was agreed that Lagos, because of its overwhelming Yoruba population and its natural connections with the West, should become part of the Western Region. This arrangement was, however, short-lived as many leaders in the North and the East began to argue that the country's capital and the main outlet for the country's trade should not be under the political control of any one of the Regions. The Western Government stoutly maintained that Lagos belonged to the West and not to any other unit. In the end, in 1954, Lagos was severed from the West and constituted into a Federal Territory. The former mandated territory of the Southern Cameroons was also given a Federal Territory status. At the time of writing, the 27 square mile Federal Territory of Lagos managed its own administrative and educational affairs.<sup>15</sup> Its school system was similar to that of the West. Its organization was carried out under the direction of a Chief Education Officer who was an appointee of the Lagos City Council.

Lagos has had a free universal primary education since 1957. There was a heavy concentration of secondary grammar schools in Lagos and the

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<sup>15</sup>The rest of this section on Lagos education was based on the writer's personal knowledge.



best of them received grants from the City Council. Lagos was also noted for its large number of private schools and colleges which offered both daytime and evening classes in all subjects and at all grades from primary to university grade work.

After the establishment of the University College, Ibadan, the latter town became the educational centre of the country. With the establishment of a new university in Lagos, the Federal capital may not only remain the nation's hub of political, social and economic activities but also flourish as a leading academic centre.

#### A Review of Aims and Functions in Nigerian Education During the Period of Preparation for Self-Government

The Second World War has had tremendous influence on the nature of later policies and development. In no sphere was this more apparent than in the field of education. As noted in the previous chapter, the War began at a time when Nigerian education was in a very poor state. The grant which the Governor had requested from the British Government had been refused with the implied rebuke that the Administration in Nigeria was incapable of keeping its own house in order by allowing uncontrolled expansion of educational services beyond the means of the country's resources to sustain.

The first of the Ten-Year Plans for Development of Nigerian education was submitted in 1942 and was rejected as inadequate, badly made and altogether lacking in imagination. A second Ten Year Plan was drawn up in 1944 but was not placed before the Legislative Council until 1947





and the Education Ordinance which emerged out of it did not have legal effect until two years later.

By the time that the Ordinance came into operation, it had become clear that the inadequacies revealed during the War years and the new vehement demand for constitutional advances must be accompanied by greater advances on the educational front. During the War the Governor had promised that in future Nigerians would have greater say in the administration of their own affairs. The Richards' Constitution of 1946 was put forward as a fulfilment of this promise, but it failed to satisfy the Nigerian leaders. It gave way to the Macpherson Constitution and this in turn barely lasted two years before further agitation was mounted for a speedier advance towards self-government. The tempo was reflected in the educational provisions. By the middle of the fifties, the idea of a prolonged British rule in Nigeria had been abandoned and even in Northern Nigeria, a last minute attempt was being made to reverse the 'go slow' policy on education. The rate of educational advance in the North was considerably slowed down by the lack of teachers. It was impossible to introduce universal primary education scheme at the same time that it was considered in the other Regions.

The introduction of elected regional governments brought a new element--the competitive spirit. The scramble for votes gave a fillip to educational activities. The East tried to rival the West in the bid to win the confidence of the voters. The North was aware of this but was unable to move at the same pace.

One latent function performed by the rapid expansion in the scale



of the educational enterprise throughout the country was the reported fall in standards. This was vividly illustrated in the East where it was the policy of the Government to exclude certain classes of schools --Category B--from having any qualified staff before Category A schools had had a certain quota of qualified teachers. In the West, the rash of secondary modern schools which mushroomed in the wake of the universal primary education scheme meant that the already high pupil-staff ratio was further increased. The lack of financial support from the Regional Government for the secondary modern schools meant that a lot of pupils were enrolled in schools which were financially insecure and badly run. Many of them were forced to close. This produced frustration and disappointment among a considerable number of young people.

Also, the very heavy proportion of the budget which the Eastern and Western Governments had had to spend on their educational developments meant that financial provision for other necessary services such as agriculture, health and welfare, transport and communications were drastically curtailed.

Perhaps the most daring development during this period was the University of Nigeria which sought to depart from the conventional British pattern of higher education. The idea of a Regional Government making plans for a university was also new. Under the 1954 Constitution, university education was a federal subject and the fact that the Eastern Government was able to draw a plan for its own regional institution without any challenge as to the basis of its constitutional power, was to prove significant for post-independence developments.





Another trend that became noticeable about this period was that the mission school was used less directly as an instrument of evangelization. The proportion of non-Mission schools had risen sharply in all parts of the country, and membership in a church organization as a condition for attending a church school was everywhere being relaxed.

By the close of this period, it had been amply demonstrated that education was regarded as the principal factor in social change, and that the impending self-government for the country would be largely meaningless unless the schools and colleges produced the kind of young men and women who would not only be properly trained, but who would also accept their responsibilities for building a united, prosperous and progressive nation.





## CHAPTER XI

### INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION--REPORT OF THE ASHBY COMMISSION

#### Problems and Recommendations

The last of the Nigerian constitutional conferences was convened in 1957 and adjourned for a year to consider the practical approach to some of the problems awaiting the country at its independence. At the resumption of the conference in the fall of 1958, the date for Nigeria's independence was set for October 1st, 1960.

In the educational field, not only was there an accelerated rate of development, it was also felt that there was need for radical thinking and planning in the educational system if the country was to meet the challenges which invariably faced a new state. Accordingly, in the year before and after independence a series of high-powered commissions and committees were appointed to survey the educational system and make recommendations. Undoubtedly the most important of these commissions was the one appointed in April, 1959, by the Federal Minister of Education to "conduct an investigation into Nigeria's needs in the field of post School Certificate and Higher Education over the next twenty years."<sup>1</sup>

The Commission's chairman was Sir Eric Ashby, Master of Clare College, Cambridge University, England. The Commission's Report was

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<sup>1</sup>Investment in Education. Report of the Commission on Post School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, 1960), p. 2.



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published during Nigeria's first month of independence, under the title Investment in Education. It has since become the most quoted document in Nigerian education.

The recommendations of the Commission were based on a survey of manpower needs of Nigeria which was prepared by Professor Frederick Harbison of Princeton University. The Commission began its report with an assessment of the size of the problem it was called upon to survey. This it described as,

A stupendous undertaking. It will cost large sums of money. The Nigerian people will have to forego other things they want so that every available penny is invested in education. Even this will not be enough. Countries outside Nigeria will have to be enlisted to help with men and money. Nigerian education must, for a time, become an international enterprise.<sup>2</sup>

The Commission was also aware that, despite every effort to avoid waste,

Our proposals remain massive, expensive and unconventional ...To the best of our beliefs nothing less than these proposals will suffice for Nigeria's development. To entertain any more modest programme is to confess defeat.<sup>3</sup>

After assessing the size of the problem, the Commission proceeded to make a summary of the existing facilities for post-school certificate education in the country. In 1958 there were over two and one-half million children in some 17,000 schools, over 25,000 were enrolled in teacher training and over 1,000 were students either at the

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



Nigerian College or at the University College, Ibadan. It was estimated, too, that there were over 1,000 Nigerian students in attendance at institutions of higher education abroad. The annual recurrent expenditure for education was something in the order of £20,000,000. This was a remarkable achievement in comparison with the scale of educational efforts barely one and one-half decades previously. It was, however, still not enough to meet the country's urgent needs. In the Commission's opinion, the "chief deficiencies of the educational system are a lack of balance, both in its structure and in its geographical distribution, and a tendency of those who plan education to outrun the money and teachers available."<sup>4</sup>

In this connection, the Commission noted that about two-thirds of the money spent on education was spent on primary education and that was gravely hampered by the low standards of the teachers themselves. About nine-tenths of the teachers in the primary schools were not properly trained for their jobs.<sup>5</sup>

Of the 4,378 secondary school teachers, only about 20 per cent were university graduates and about 25 per cent were neither graduates nor trained. There were only 12,344 pupils in the first year of the secondary schools compared to 648,748 in the first year of the primary schools. In the secondary schools only 553 were in the sixth form. The universities and other institutions of higher education recruited additional students from the courses at the Nigerian College by preliminary

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.





courses at the University College, Ibadan and through the Emergency Science Training Centre in Lagos.

It was the Commission's view that "although the quantity of higher education at present available in Nigeria is insufficient, the quality is beyond reproach."<sup>6</sup> What was urgently needed was its expansion and a much greater diversity of patterns of higher education. Attention, too, was drawn to the fact that owing to the literary tradition in Nigerian education, the practical subjects, particularly at the sub-professional level, had failed to win esteem. The need to strengthen the teacher training colleges was stressed. "Teacher training colleges are deficient in numbers of places as well as in quality of staff."<sup>7</sup>

The special problems of education in the North were referred to. Education at all levels was behind in this Region. Only about nine per cent of the children of primary school age were in attendance at school. Only 4,000 of the two million who were of secondary school age were actually enrolled in secondary schools. The number in university studies was quite insignificant. But the existing inadequacy of the educational system in the Region offered for the future, "a unique opportunity for achieving a proper balance between primary, secondary and post-secondary education."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 6.





The Commission next considered the manpower needs of the country. Professor Harbison based his estimates on the assumption that the rate of the economic growth of Nigeria after independence, would not be less than the rate of growth during the years immediately preceding independence. In actual figures, the estimated needs of the country for the managerial, professional and administrative class would be about 30,000 during the period 1960-70. Of these, at least 20,000 must be university graduates, and that meant that the current output of about 900 graduates from Nigerian and overseas universities must be stepped up to about 2,000 annually. For the intermediate grades (by which it was meant those with at least two years of post-School Certificate education or training) at least 50,000 would be required during the same period.

The need to provide for this high level of manpower for the Nigerian economy must be met at all costs.

Of all Nigeria's resources, her young people are the most valuable; expenditure upon their education should be a first charge upon the nation's finances.<sup>9</sup>

To meet the needs, it was proposed that at least 8,000 people with post-school certificate education be produced each year. Even if this objective was achieved by 1970, it would still be necessary to enlarge the educational system.

The Commission felt that some 30,000 children should enter the secondary school each year and except in the North, there was already a sufficient number of pupils in the primary schools to ensure that this

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 7.



number was forthcoming. The proposed annual intake into the secondary schools would mean an increase of 18,000 places, equivalent to 600 secondary school streams.

The structure of the educational system must be constructed to fulfil the need, (1) to produce enough people to satisfy the high level manpower need; (2) to maintain a balance between primary, secondary and higher education and (3) to narrow the gaps of educational opportunities within the country while at the same time maintaining the balance referred to. A balanced educational structure for the whole country would meet the following requirements, in the East, West and in Lagos:

Of 1,000 children at the age of 12 years -

$\frac{1,000}{1,000}$	were to complete primary education
$\frac{70}{1,000}$	to enter secondary schools
$\frac{63}{1,000}$	to complete the School Certificate Course
$\frac{47}{1,000}$	to enter into jobs
$\frac{16}{1,000}$	to go further, of "sandwich" training
10 or 11 of the 16 to take intermediate training	
5 or 6 of the 16 to go to university.	

In Northern Nigeria, of every 1,000 children at the age of 12 years,

$\frac{250}{1,000}$	should complete primary education
$\frac{25}{1,000}$	should go to secondary schools
$\frac{22}{1,000}$	should complete School Certificate





$\frac{15}{1,000}$  should enter jobs after school certificate  
 $\frac{7}{1,000}$  should go for further full time, of "sandwich" training  
 $\frac{2-3}{1,000}$  should go to university.<sup>10</sup>

These objectives were first objectives only and modest as they seemed to implement them would require about

130,000 more secondary places, 4,500 more teachers and more than 100 sixth form streams, and at least 350 more sixth form teachers, more teacher training colleges, greatly enlarged technical institutes and a seven-fold increase in the capacities of universities, if all Harison's argument is accepted, to be accomplished as soon as possible before 1970.<sup>11</sup>

### Sixth Forms

Of the 8,000 post secondary school leavers that Harbison recommended for further training or education, it was suggested that 3,000 should go to universities and the remaining 5,000 be given other kinds of training. It was the Commission's opinion that sixth form work be carried out in the schools and that the number of sixth forms be trebled over the next ten years by establishing National High Schools. The National High Schools were to be located in specially selected centres of population and should act as community centres for their areas. Although secondary education was a responsibility of the Regions, it was recommended that the National High Schools should come under the Federal

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-12.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 11.



Government's control. Besides these new schools, other strong secondary schools were to be encouraged to develop sixth forms and generous financial aids be provided for this purpose.

The curriculum in the sixth forms should permit the admission of students who did not wish to enter university to undertake some elementary training in pedagogy to enable them to sit for the Grade I Teacher's Certificate examination. To enable able but financially weak students to enter the sixth form, it was recommended that the Federal and Regional governments make arrangements for grants. The work of the sixth forms should be supplemented by evening and day classes at technical institutes. The enthusiasm for private study in the country should be given every encouragement.

### Teacher Training

For the 80,000 teachers who were deficient in general education, it was necessary to provide remedial vacation courses, particularly in the English language. They also required instruction in the use of the modern teaching aids. Some 3,000 teachers could be accommodated in the university hostels for these courses and inducement in the form of a certificate and salary bonus should be paid to teachers who attended them. Lecturers for the courses should be recruited primarily from the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. To consolidate the advantages of the short courses some 1,000 supervising teachers would be needed to maintain the standards of teaching in the primary schools.

Secondary school teachers would be required to attend a longer





course of two months duration. The courses would be given in School Certificate and Higher School Certificate subjects. Some 200 students could be accepted each year and again the teachers would have to be recruited from abroad. These emergency training schemes were not to be regarded as substitutes for necessary in-service training.

To meet teacher needs in the secondary schools, technical institutes and the teacher training institutions, some 700-800 graduate teachers would be expected from the universities each year for the first ten years. The number of Grade I teachers required would be more than 3,000 a year and that meant the establishment of a training scheme for not less than 6,000 students a year. To meet the vastly increased need for this class of teachers, eight new Grade I teacher training colleges were needed to handle an annual intake of 2,000 between them. Of the remaining 1,000, half would be trained in the teacher training departments of technical institutes for mathematics, technical subjects and elementary science in the schools. The remaining half would be trained in the sixth form classes of the secondary schools.

It was suggested that Grade II teachers be given two years leave of absence to undertake the Grade I course and that upon the completion of training, the gap between the salary scales of graduate teachers and Grade I teachers be considerably narrowed. The pay for graduate teachers should also be made to compare very favourably with salary scales in the Government services.

The Commission also stressed the need to educate the public about the importance of the teachers' work.





We should like to see in every Ministry of Education a small, but vigorous, publicity department charged with two responsibilities: to maintain contact with teachers at all levels, through leaflets with advice on teaching methods and information about the educational programme; and to create among the public a respect for the teacher and an interest in his work. To train teachers well; to pay them well; to give them standing in the eyes of the public: this is a proper charge against the national income.<sup>12</sup>

As teachers could not be produced at once, to generate the flow of high level manpower which the country needed, it was proposed that expatriate teachers be imported on short term contracts and that Nigerian teachers be sent overseas for training through the aid of scholarships. It was also suggested that an international aid programme be set up for Nigeria. The cost of about £1.5 to 2 million a year which the scholarship and overseas recruitment programme might cost would more than justify the filling of the educational vacuum which would otherwise have been created.

#### Technical and Commercial Education Below University Level

To train the 2,500 technicians which the Commission believed the country required each year, it recommended that the existing technical institutes at Yaba, Kaduna, Ibadan, Enugu and the one proposed for Port Harcourt and Benin City be considerably enlarged. While it was hoped that most of the students at the institutes would be already in employment, it was suggested that additional facilities be made available for part-time and evening courses.

Training for higher management should be done at a national centre

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 17.



in one of the universities. The chief problem with regard to the technical institutes was the staff, half of which, it was proposed, should consist of university graduates. Others should be highly trained master-craftsmen and those with high sub-professional qualifications like the Higher National Certificate.

The Commission further recommended the establishment of a Standing Conference on Technical Education as a means of enhancing the prestige of the institutes and of ensuring their relevance to the needs of the country. An Advisory Committee should also be set up for each institute to provide liaison between the employers and the institute.

#### Commercial Education

It was recommended that higher commercial education in such subjects as accountancy, secretaryship, insurance, banking, company secretaryship and transport be given in the universities. It would be the duty of technical institutes to train secretaries and bookkeepers and to train clerical and junior administrative officers. It was recommended, too, that a number of girls' secondary schools provide a one year post-School Certificate commercial course in English, shorthand and typewriting.

#### Agricultural Education

The reluctance of students to take agriculture courses was noted and to correct this, a "combination of higher salaries and better living conditions, coupled with persistent propaganda about the importance of agriculture to the nation"<sup>13</sup> was believed needed to ensure that the 200

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 21.





graduates and 300 intermediate trained agricultural and veterinary officers required each year were available.

### Universities

To achieve the objectives of a vastly increased student population in the universities (7,500 before 1970 and over 10,000 during the 1970-1980 decade) would put a severe strain on the financial resources of the country, but the cheaper alternative of sending Nigerian students overseas for an indefinite period was considered inconsistent with Nigeria's national aspirations.

On the nature of the university education itself, the Commission made it clear that what was needed was "more diversity and more flexibility."<sup>14</sup> The existing British system was too inflexible and too academic to meet national needs. The Commission further noted that the best American universities were meeting the test of diversity without sacrificing academic standards. The Nigerian institutions could profit best by learning from the British and American patterns.

The field of African studies was regarded as one with the most obvious need for innovation.

The future of Nigeria is bound up with the future of Africa; and Nigeria's past lies in African history and folklore and language. It should be a first duty of Nigerian universities, therefore, to foster the study of African history and antiquities, its languages, its societies, its rocks and soils and vegetation and animal life. We know this will not be easy; before African studies can be taught they must be codified.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 22.



The textbooks still have to be written. But a start must be made and we recommend that every university should have a department or institute of African studies, doing at first mainly research, but building a body of knowledge which will be the material for undergraduate courses in the future. We suggest that such an institute should as far as possible be inter-disciplinary, and it should co-ordinate research being done by various departments in this vital field.<sup>15</sup>

In the fields of commerce and business administration the Commission thought that the best way of training Nigerians for the top posts was to offer degree courses on a sandwich system "office based."<sup>16</sup> It was also suggested that facilities be made available to enable students to work for these degrees by evening courses and by correspondence. Courses in higher management studies might be provided at post-graduate level.

For the teaching profession, an annual output of 800 graduates would be required. It was recommended that a three year B. A. (Education) degree be instituted in every university. To qualify for this degree, the students would be expected to take four subjects in the first year, three in the second and three in the third. Instruction in pedagogy should be built into the degree structure and teaching practice during the vacations be required. Moreover, the subjects taken in the course should be the ones taught at school.

Engineering courses should be 'down to earth' and "biased towards

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid. An office based system <sup>is</sup> was one which provides practical experience in an office or industry after a spell of theoretical study at a school or college.





the practical and not oversophisticated."<sup>17</sup> In the same way, it was suggested that "Nigeria should break away from a slavish adherence to the requirements for medical and veterinary practice in Britain."<sup>18</sup> The output of the University Teaching Hospital could be doubled, a lower diploma might be offered to those who failed to qualify for medical degrees and the medical courses could be freed from the restraints of London University so that emphasis could be placed on public health, preventive medicine and paediatrics. In veterinary medicine, the Commission observed that with one veterinarian to 120,000 head of cattle, "Nigeria cannot afford the niceties of a veterinary education so much directed to providing private practitioners whose main pre-occupation is with pet dogs and cats."<sup>19</sup> Veterinary education in Nigeria needed to emphasize animal husbandry, animal nutrition and preventive medicine.

On the subject of a legal education, the Commission felt "that the way into a legal career should be through a university, not by articles in a lawyer's office."<sup>20</sup>

The establishment of extension services was urged at each university.

To minimize the waste of human talent, it was recommended that

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.





governments, public corporations and industries be urged to release some of their most gifted employees for higher training and studies. It was also proposed that at least one university should offer degree courses through evening courses and provisions be made for degree courses through correspondence.

The Commission was of the opinion that although it would be possible to train all the graduates needed at one institution, to do that would be undesirable.

The distances in Nigeria, the variety of people which comprise her population, and, above all, the need for diversity in higher education, all point to the need for at least one university in each Region.<sup>21</sup>

The Commission proceeded to qualify this recommendation by pointing out that:

The borders between Regions must never become barriers to the migration of brains. Nigeria's intellectual life, and her economy, will suffer unless there is free migration of both staff and students from one Region to another. We know we are echoing the convictions of Nigeria's leaders when we say that one of the purposes of education in this country is to promote cohesion between her Regions. Universities should be a very powerful instrument for this purpose: it is their duty to respond. It is not only for reasons of finance, therefore, (though these reasons alone are weighty enough) but for reasons of national unity that we believe that no Region should be self-sufficient in its high education. There must, of course, be subjects common to all universities; but all universities should, for the sake of the nation as a whole, refrain from aspiring to teach the whole spectrum of knowledge.<sup>22</sup>

The proposed universities should be independent of one another and each should offer its own degrees because of the method of sponsorship which

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.



the University College, Ibadan, had enjoyed, while very beneficial in enhancing the reputation of the College, did not leave enough room for innovation, experimentation and adaptation to Nigerian needs.

For the present, it was deemed best that the Federal Government concentrate its efforts around the existing nuclei of academic activity. Thus, it was suggested that the proposed university for the North should centre around the Zaria branch of the Nigerian College. In the East the Nigerian College branch in Enugu and the University of Nigeria were to be merged. The Commission favoured one strong university rather than two weak ones. In the West, the Commission suggested that the Ibadan branch of the Nigerian College be incorporated into the University College. A new university was proposed for Lagos.

### Scholarships

The Commission made an emphatic statement on the provision of scholarships to enable students to pursue higher education.

Education is so essential to the country's development that there is no doubt whatever in our minds that if a student is offered a place in a university he should not have to turn it down through lack of means.

We urge, too, that the Federal and Regional Governments should continue their present policy of offering scholarships for undergraduate study abroad... For post-graduate work migration from one university to another is essential, and we would expect that at any one time hundreds of Nigerians should be doing post-graduate work overseas, largely supported by overseas funds.

Finally, we recommend that there should be post-graduate scholarships tenable in Nigerian universities, both for Nigerians and for graduates from overseas; for the inspiration of university departments lies in their research work,





and if a keen professor cannot build up a research group in his department he is likely to seek a post elsewhere.<sup>23</sup>

The order of priority which the Commission placed on the expansion of university education within the country was (1) developments at Zaria in the North, (2) Enugu-Nsukka in the East and (3) the new university to be established in Lagos.

#### A National Universities Commission

In order to bring into effect the recommendations pertaining to university education, the Commission proposed that the National Universities Commission be set up by an act of the Federal Parliament. The suggested terms of reference for this body were:

(1) To investigate proposals for the establishment of universities or other institutions of higher learning which desire to have Federal grants and to advise the Federal Government whether the proposals should be approved or not for Federal grants.

(2) To initiate and to consider, in consultation with universities, plans for such balanced developments as may be required to enable universities to meet national needs.

(3) To examine the financial needs, both recurrent and capital, of universities seeking or receiving Federal grants and to present these needs to the Federal Minister of Education.

(4) To receive annually a block grant from the Federal Government and to allocate it to universities with such conditions as the Commission may think advisable.

(5) To collect, examine and publish information relating to university finance and university education in Nigeria.

(6) To make either itself or through committees, such

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 29.



other investigations relating to higher education as the Commission may think necessary, and, for the purpose of these investigations, to have access to the records of universities seeking or receiving Federal grants.

(7) To make such other recommendations to the Federal Government or to universities relating to higher education as the Commission might think to be in the national interest.<sup>24</sup>

The Commission looked far ahead to the time when private organizations or municipal authorities might wish to establish their own universities and it, therefore, suggested that the Regional Governments adopt policies to govern the right to award degrees. Also, it was suggested that the National Universities Commission draw up a Memorandum of Agreement for the consideration of the Regional Governments. The object of this would be to facilitate the adoption of a "common pattern of legislation to cover the ways in which universities may be established, the minimum standards needed for the right to award degrees, and the requirements of eligibility for Federal support."<sup>25</sup>

#### International Loan and Educational Aid Programme

The Commission once more pointed out that the scale of its proposals far outstripped the probable growth of Nigeria's economy during the first decade under consideration. It put forward the case for a strong international aid programme saying:

In the modern world economic advance depends on skilled

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 34.





manpower, and the manpower must come first. Investment in Nigerian education is therefore an investment in her economic future and political stability, and as such may command international attention.

We believe that Nigeria has an admirable case to present to governments and to private sources of financial help. Its commanding position in population makes it an African giant among new nations. It has demonstrated its ability in self government and it is a natural focus of attention in a continent to which the eyes of the world are turned. To invest in Nigerian education, which is the necessary first step in strengthening the economy is therefore wise policy for nations or groups<sup>26</sup> or individuals who care about the shape of the future.

To provide the qualified teachers for teaching in all the post-primary institutions, it was suggested that the pump be first primed by the importation of a considerable number of expatriate teachers while Nigerian students were being trained to take their places.

It was also recommended that Nigeria seek the establishment of an International Loan and Educational Aid Programme.

#### Cost of the Recommended Programme

With regard to the costs of its recommendations, the Commission estimated that a new university in Nigeria would require, initially, something in the order of £5 million, except in the case of the University of Lagos which was to be non-residential. For the four institutes or schools of African studies proposed, an initial cost of £100,000-£150,000 each was arrived at. The expensive outlay for these institutes was justified on the ground that:

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 35.





These institutes, as we have already indicated, will be the centres where there can be fostered an interplay between teaching and research in university departments and the Nigerian environment and its culture. They must, therefore, be well equipped to tackle African studies adequately in the social and natural sciences. But, even more important, they must develop as centres to which foreign scholars would be glad to come to pursue their studies of Nigeria in particular, and West Africa in general. Their equipment must include specialist libraries, stores and equipment for field research, laboratories for linguistic research, adequate facilities for visiting scholars and working space for Fellows and supervisors of study in the largely un-explored field.<sup>27</sup>

The establishment of agricultural, veterinary science and engineering schools or faculties at three of the new universities was expected to cost about 5 million pounds initially. Thus, the initial outlay for the three new universities would only be just short of 20 million pounds.

The foregoing represents a summary of the general reports and recommendations of the Commission. Part II of the document consists of the special reports upon which the general reports were based. The main points of interest in the special reports have already been mentioned in the general reports. A few of these points, however, deserve further consideration.

Professor Harbison noted that capital and manpower were the two main features limiting the development of Nigeria's economy. He went on to observe that:

Of all the resources required for economic development, high level manpower requires the longest "lead-time" for creation. Modern dams, power stations, textile factories or steel mills can be constructed within a few years. But

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 40.



it takes between 10 and 15 years to develop the managers, the administrators and the engineers to operate them. Schools and college buildings can be erected in a matter of months; but it requires decades to develop the high level teachers and professors.<sup>28</sup>

Harbison defined high level manpower in two ways. First, there was his functional definition which consisted of naming the occupations which were in the high level category. The second definition ascribed the level of education and experience required for the persons who performed the high level jobs. Thus, in the functional categories were included the following:

(1) Administrators, executives and managers of sizeable establishments in government, commerce, industry, education, etc.

(2) Professional personnel -

(a) engineers of all kinds

(b) accountants (certified or highly trained)

(c) doctors and dentists

(d) veterinarians

(e) scientists of all kinds

(f) architects

(g) lawyers

(h) agricultural officers and research specialists

(3) Technical, sub-professional, and supervisory personnel -

(a) technicians

(b) supervisors

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 50.





- (c) highly skilled craftsmen--instrument repairmen, etc.
  - (d) nurses
  - (e) agricultural assistants, etc.
- (4) Teachers -
- (a) in universities and technological institutes
  - (b) in secondary grammar schools
  - (c) in trade and vocational schools
  - (d) in teacher training institutions
  - (e) in primary schools with Grade I certificate qualification or above
- (5) Army and Navy officers and police officers
- (6) Miscellaneous: judges, members of parliament, government ministers, local government councillors and senior staff, etc.<sup>29</sup>

Defined in terms of level of education and experience, the jobs in the high level manpower categories were those which required a minimum of two years of post-School Certificate training or education. High level manpower was further subdivided into the senior grades and the intermediate categories. In the senior category were included top administrators and top managers, all those who were fully trained professionally. Increasingly, a university degree or its equivalent was being regarded as the requirement for a senior post. The intermediate category included all the technical and supervisory personnel. All persons in the Group 3 of

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 51-52.



the functional category belonged to the intermediate grade.

Professor Harbison admitted that there were persons in the senior and intermediate categories who did not have the educational background specified, but he suggested that "there is probably general agreement that it would be preferable to utilise persons with the proper educational background if they were available in such positions."<sup>30</sup>

In his findings, Harbison wrote that "the central recommendation of this report is that Nigeria should establish at once appropriate organizational arrangements to assess continuously manpower needs and to formulate programmes for effective manpower development throughout the Federation."<sup>31</sup>

He further suggested that in formulating a manpower programme, careful consideration should be given to periodic appraisal for manpower in all occupations and in all productive activities, the periodic analysis of costs of formal education and determination of the order of priority in expenditures for education, the development of measures for in-service training, the appraisal of wage and salary scales, the formulation of policies governing scholarships and fellowships, the development of Nigerianization policy in employment and the determination of employment conditions for expatriates, the assessment of unemployment and under-employment in major occupations and activities, the integration of manpower development planning with broader planning for the

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 67.





country's progress.

The Inter-Regional Manpower Board which was proposed should contain representatives of the Federal Ministry, Ministries of Economic Development and Labour, two representatives from each Region, a representative of employers, a trade union representative and four other persons nominated by the Governor-General in Council or by the Federal Prime Minister. The Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Economic Planning and Development was suggested for the chairmanship of the Board.

The recommendation about the sixth forms in the general reports was that the 8,000 who should annually take the post-School Certificate training or education, should be sent to a variety of institutions--the technical institutes, the National High Schools and the selected grammar schools.

The continuation of sixth form level type of work in the university or the Nigerian College was not favoured because it was more expensive and in the opinion of the Commission students at this stage were still not sufficiently matured for university work. Above all, it was not politic to divert the energies of university teachers to preparatory work. The establishment of such crash programmes as the Emergency Science Training Centre at Lagos was also not recommended because it represented the diversion of funds urgently needed and also because of the difficulty of integrating these programmes into the regular educational pattern. For similar reasons, the idea of the American Junior or Community College was opposed (except on an experimental basis). The Commission could not find much difference in their work and those of the technical institutes.





Also it was not desirable to promote the fragmentation of the educational system through fashioning a new diversity in the institutions.

It was suggested that the new National High Schools be located where maximum advantage will accrue from their use. This was interpreted to mean places where sixth form provisions were non-existent.

Another novel idea about these National High Schools was that their development was to begin with the top classes.

Building institutions from the top may sound novel. But without such a procedure, the model sixth form, which seem to us essential, will have a less easy birth.<sup>32</sup>

With regard to the curriculum in the sixth forms, the Commission recognized that a radical departure from the existing pattern would be unlikely because it had been constructed in the past to serve purposes which the Commission considered vital. The Commission wished, however, to discourage the idea of regarding certain subject groups like the physical sciences as the exclusive preserve of the future scientists and technologists. Also, it wished to draw the attention of the sixth forms to the past neglect of the chief Nigerian languages and of French.

Disentanglement from the strangling grip of the excessively European-based historical studies was strongly urged along with more prominent attention to social studies, geography, economics and political institutions. It was recommended that some time be devoted to other subjects apart from the principal ones with the aim of reducing the down-right split into arts and science categories.

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 75.



On the subject of sixth form examinations, the Commission issued this warning:

Examinations and their syllabuses should be guides or indicators. But, for the teacher who is concerned only with examination performance and consequently does not allow himself or his pupils to stray beyond the restricting confines of the syllabus as most literally interpreted, all too easily they can become a tyrant, stifling the fresh and imaginative handling of his subject. Examination performance is undeniably of great importance and we do not wish to convey the impression of belittling it. But Nigeria is looking for men and women who not only are capable of answering examination questions with knowledge and skill, but have also issued from their school education with a mind enlivened, a healthy curiosity about the world, and a consuming urge to go on learning.<sup>33</sup>

The recommendations on teacher training underscored the basic issue that:

The professional training of teachers is not the most serious of the problems confronting Nigeria in its teaching profession. Much more serious are the difficulties of securing enough teachers with sufficient education and of retaining them in the profession.<sup>34</sup>

The report also cited that teaching was often used as a step towards some other goal, resulting in lack of continuity in pupils' education and a fall in the standards. Prestige and salary were mentioned as the key issues. A massive effort should be made to change the existing low prestige which the teaching profession had in the public mind. This must be coupled with the offer of reasonably competitive salaries. The existing gap between the Grade I teacher and the graduate teacher was

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 78-79.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 81.





too great.

A father who had devoted thirty years to a teaching career, but who never had the chance for higher education despite unusual gifts of mind and spirit, might see his son who just completed his degree a few months before start at a salary substantially higher than his own. It is surely no criticism of university education to suggest that this scale exaggerates the value of a degree and badly underestimates the contribution of other types of experience and training. Nor is it astonishing that many teachers risk time and money to seek university entrance when they might well make a greater contribution by staying where they are and concentrating on the job at hand. We are, therefore, sure that changes in the salary structures are essential if teaching is to be a career rather than a half-way house.<sup>35</sup>

The targets of teacher needs which were recommended for Nigerian schools by 1970 are summarized in Table XXV.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 83.



TABLE XXV

## REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATE AND GRADE I TEACHERS BY 1970

Number of Teachers Needed for	Graduate	Grade I
Teacher Training Colleges	1,750	1,750
Secondary Grammar Schools	3,750	3,750
Technical Institutes	200	200
Teachers of Agriculture	--	250
Sixth Forms	400	--
Grade I Training Programmes	400	--
Supervising Teachers	500	500
Grade I Teachers for Primary Schools	--	11,650
	7,000	18,100

Source: Ashby Commission Report, p. 85.

The special report on these subjects defined the levels of technical education. The craftsman was the skilled worker who had undergone a recognized apprenticeship training in his trade. The technician was someone who had undergone both theoretical and practical technical training under the direction and supervision of a technologist. The technologist "is the professional engineer or applied scientist who is responsible for the application of scientific knowledge and method of industry."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 95.



Technical and commercial education below the university level should be undertaken at some half a dozen large technical institutes. The details of courses offered would have to be worked out by the governments and industry, but it was suggested that there should be a liberalizing influence through the introduction of some non-technical courses.

It was also deemed desirable that the training given at these institutes should lead to some well-known qualifications accepted by the employers. The City and Guilds Certificates and the Ordinary and Higher National Certificates were such qualifications. Entry to the technical institutes would normally be through the completion of the secondary school course but it was also suggested that a route be provided for those who were able, but have not had the advantages of secondary education.

The Commission stressed the importance of giving clear recognition and definition to the place of the technical institutes in the educational system of the country. In this regard, it observed that:

Experience in some countries has shown that the development of a balanced system of technical education is impeded because of the institutions which were originally intended to provide courses at the sub-professional level, e.g., for technicians, being ambitious to raise their status, neglect their work in order to concentrate upon courses for professional qualifications and even for degrees. We wish to say most emphatically that this must not be permitted to happen with the technical institutes. They should not be allowed to offer courses at professional or graduate level, thus inevitably becoming the "poor relations" of the universities, but should be given the best possible facilities for conducting the courses of the kind for which they are designed with the maximum efficiency in an environment suited to the aims and interest of their students.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 98.





The Commission made it clear that it did not, by the above statement, imply that the legitimate ambitions of students should be frustrated. It stated categorically that students who demonstrated the ability for higher studies should be allowed to do so. Some special scholarships should be provided for this purpose.

Commercial education at the sub-professional level should include such subjects as English, shorthand, typewriting, office routine, commercial arithmetic, bookkeeping, commercial French and elementary law. The subjects should be taken at the Royal Society of Arts examinations. These courses would be mainly full-time post-School Certificate courses, although provisions would be made for sandwich courses and evening courses for those already in employment.

"Included under 'agricultural education' are educational programmes for veterinary science, home economics (domestic science), forestry, fisheries and wildlife."<sup>38</sup>

Although the Commission admitted that Government activities outside the educational field and education below post-secondary were not within its terms of reference, it, however, justified frequent references to them because of their relatedness.

The Commission, while noting that agriculture was a Regional subject, its importance to the whole country was such as to justify a Federal Ministry of Agriculture "which would be concerned with problems of education, extension, and research in agriculture, veterinary science

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 101.



and home economics."<sup>39</sup> The Commission further observed that:

It is anomalous that what is admittedly the most backward segment of development in Nigeria, namely agriculture, should at the same time be the backbone of the country, both from the standpoint of financial resources and essentials for living. No Federal Government should be content to let the burden of the development of its foreign trade, commerce and industry rest on an underdeveloped and underprivileged segment of its population.<sup>40</sup>

It maintained that the Federal Government should play a major part in the development of agricultural education through fostering the establishment of more stations to carry on fundamental research, by making funds available for university and regional research projects, through financing research training abroad of selected personnel and by seeking research assistance from such bodies as the Food and Agriculture Organization and the International Co-operation Administration.

The Federal Government was also to foster rural development by providing financial assistance, by supporting training schemes, by acting as channel of information and ideas between the Regions and by providing extension specialists in agricultural subjects. Vocational training, a national soil survey, the support of agricultural education at the post secondary and university levels were all, in the opinion of the Commission, worthy of the wholehearted and urgent attention of the Federal Government.

The recommendation for the training in veterinary science has already been dealt with. For home economics which was also considered

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.





under this head, it was suggested that most of its senior personnel be recruited from abroad since the small amount of interest in this field and the small number of qualified girls did not make the establishment of a degree training an urgent one. There was, however, a considerable need in the Regions for a large number of field workers in home economics.

For forestry, a degree course at one of the universities was recommended but as the number of foresters required was quite small, current needs might be met through training abroad and the recruitment of expatriates. The same recommendation of overseas training and the employment of expatriates was made for the small number who would be marine and fresh water biologists and fishery technologists.

Although the training situation for game biologists, zoo managers, game wardens and sanctuary managers was not regarded as so urgent, it was, nevertheless, suggested that the Government give attention to the formulation of long range policy on game rearing, hunting and preservation.

The recommendations with regard to the universities have already been dealt with and little need be added from the special report, except for this note on research:

Research, like universities, is supranational. Discoveries published in any country become the property of the whole civilised world. In this sense Nigeria is heir to the whole heritage of science and scholarship. But to enter into this heritage a country must have its own scientists and scholars. It is only by doing research oneself that one can interpret the research done by others.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 123.



The Commission's report was concluded with a note on new educational techniques involving speech laboratories, voice and silent film, radio, and television. It was recommended that the record player and the magnetic tape be experimented with in language teaching, that a central film library be organized to distribute films on a loan basis, that channels be reserved for educational television and that a committee be set up by the Federal Ministry of Education to study advances in these fields of new techniques and also to make recommendations on those which might be experimented with in Nigerian schools.

The Commission's report included four appendices, the first of which is reproduced in this study as Appendix E.

#### Dr. Onabamiro's Reservations

The Commission's recommendations were in the main unanimous, but Dr. S. D. Onabamiro, who became the Minister of Education for the Western Region of Nigeria while the Commission was still carrying out its work, made three reservations.<sup>42</sup>

He argued that the four universities which the Commission recommended and which should be financed by the Federal Government were not enough. He maintained that an additional university in each Region was needed, bringing the total to seven instead of four. He also believed that the composition of the National Universities Commission should follow the pattern of representation on the existing Federal institutions.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 48.





Thirdly, Dr. Onabamiro wanted the National High Schools to be owned and directed by the Regions even though supported by Federal finance. He wanted six such schools to be established within the next ten years--two in the Eastern and Western Regions respectively, one in Lagos and one in the Northern Region.

### Reactions to the Commission's Report

The Report of the Commission was completed early in September, 1960, and it was published in October--the first month of Nigeria's independence. The reception of the Report was generally favourable. It was hailed in the Nigerian press and there were numerous articles about it. It was discussed in many educational circles and journals abroad. It has been described as bold, imaginative, comprehensive, and one reviewer referred to it as "a strategic document calculated to excite the imagination of the democratic world."<sup>43</sup>

On the whole, the Report could be regarded as a profession of faith in the future of Nigeria. The Commission was judged to have done its work with uncommon thoroughness and enthusiasm.

Although its terms of reference were limited specifically to post-School Certificate and Higher Education, it did, in the words of another commission which was appointed shortly afterwards, "dip down into the problems of secondary education."<sup>44</sup> As these were in turn dependent

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<sup>43</sup>Judson T. Shaplin, "The Realities of Ashby's Vision," Universities Quarterly, June, 1961, p. 229.

<sup>44</sup>Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria. December, 1960 to January, 1961 (Ibadan: The Government Printer, 1961), p. 12.





upon the quality of both the teachers and the education which the secondary school pupils had received in the primary schools, "the Ashby Commission did not evade the lower issues but accumulated information on primary education, secondary education, technical, commercial and agricultural education,"<sup>45</sup> and upon teacher training.

In the conduct of its investigation, the Commission toured Nigeria extensively and had an impressive list of the persons and representatives of the organizations it met or received memoranda from. It also made visits to the United States and the United Kingdom.

The result of this thoroughness was that there remained little that one could disagree with in terms of the principles on which the recommendations were based. One important point might be mentioned--lack of representation of the non-English speaking world on the Commission. One may well wonder whether West and East Germany, France, Italy and other European countries with long experience of university education did not have useful lessons to teach Nigeria and the underdeveloped world in that field. If flexibility and diversity were to be the keynotes in Nigerian higher education, it would have seemed appropriate that the methods of the Soviet Union which had produced such spectacular results in the technological field be examined. Similarly, no direct reference was made to the experiences of such countries as India, Turkey and Israel which have had a longer experience in dealing with the kinds of problems with which Nigeria was faced.

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid.



One, too, may criticize the Commission on minor details such as the need for making a definite statement on the degree of structures in the proposed universities. Except in the case of the new B. A. (Education) degree, and the need to cut off the frills from the medical, agricultural, engineering, veterinary science degree courses, little was said of the basic science and arts degree. The Commission lost a fine opportunity of making some statement on the Honours and General degree structure at the University College, Ibadan, in comparison with the broader-based degree which the Commission seemed to favour in the scientific and professional courses.

The Commission stressed that the country could not afford to lose talent through lack of financial support. It could have recommended to the Federal and Regional Governments that admission to the new universities be on a non-fee basis. This would have ensured a degree of fairness which the existing scholarship systems did not guarantee. If competition for the university courses were made strictly subject to satisfactory progress, and not finance, it was not unlikely that the targets set could be reached, if not surpassed. The fact that such a recommendation was not made by this Commission soon produced anomalies in the way the educational programme was being handled, and of leaving some doubt as to the sincerity of the Federal Government in accepting the recommendations of the Commission. As early as 1962, barely two years after the Ashby Commission made its report, the following account was published in a reliable weekly:

Over 550 students at the University of Ibadan have been refused admission next term because of their failure to pay





fees. This is almost a third of the student body, and virtually all those not on government scholarships. The amount owing is £45,000, and while, no doubt, the Federal Government could find it, the Minister of Education has declined to do so, presumably because he is not willing to establish such a costly precedent. For the students, particularly those in their third year, this is a tragedy.<sup>46</sup>

If this was a tragedy to the students concerned was it not a tragedy for the future of the whole nation?

### The Federal Government's Reaction to the Ashby Report

The reactions of the Federal Government to the findings and recommendations of the Ashby Commission were embodied in a White Paper which was placed before the Federal Legislature in April, 1961, as Sessional Paper No. 3.<sup>47</sup> The Paper was introduced with a summary of the terms of reference, findings and recommendations of the Ashby Commission, and after giving due consideration to these, stated:

The conclusion of the Federal Government, reached in the light of the various studies and comments, is that the Commission's Report is to be accepted in principle as a sound analysis of the present position, and that their recommendations with some amendment should constitute the basis for the development of Post-School Certificate and Higher Education in Nigeria for the next ten years.

In announcing this conclusion the Federal Government proclaims its determination to pursue a vigorous policy of manpower development that will at once rectify the existing imbalance in educational development, and promote the economic development of the Nation. It is also the Federal Government's

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<sup>46</sup>West Africa, No. 2377, 22nd December, 1962, p. 145.

<sup>47</sup>Federation of Nigeria, Education Development 1961-70 Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961 (Lagos: Federal Printing Division).



view that the implementation of the Ashby Commission's recommendation as amended must be given the highest priority.<sup>48</sup>

### All Round Increase in Ashby's Targets

The main feature of the White Paper was the recommendation of an all round increase in the targets set by the Ashby Commission. In the field of primary education, the Government declared that the Federal Government should help the North "so that by 1970, there will be in the whole country a singled educational pyramid, broadly based and properly proportioned."<sup>49</sup> By 1970 the North was to enrol at least 50 per cent of all the children in the primary schools.

The foundations of technological education should be laid as early as possible and "for this reason the Federal Government fully endorses the proposal that manual training and handicraft lessons must be an integral part of the primary school curriculum."<sup>50</sup> The Government also supported the introduction of the study of English phonetics in the primary schools but recognized that the development of a Nigerian accent was inevitable.

For the secondary schools, the Government stipulated that an annual intake of not less than 45,000 should be reached by 1970.

Unless this target is achieved the envisaged output of

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-5.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 5.





high-level manpower may be seriously endangered. To this end the Federal Government will assist with the expansion of existing secondary schools and the establishment of the new ones.<sup>51</sup>

The number of sixth form streams were to be raised to 350 and the total number of students increased to over 10,000 a year.

Grade I teachers were to be produced at the rate of 5,000 annually and by 1970, some 30,000 teachers were to have the certificate. The Technical Institutes should produce 5,000 technicians annually. The Country needed not just 300 agricultural and veterinary assistants annually, but 600. The universities and the Technological Institutes were to achieve an enrolment of at least 10,000 by 1970.

#### Administration of Universities

The Federal Government declared its support for the establishment of a National Universities Commission to plan a balanced development, to examine financial needs of universities and to allocate grants to them.

It also favoured the appointment of an Inter-Regional Manpower Development Board. This Board would determine periodically the nation's manpower needs in all occupations and formulate programmes for effective manpower development throughout the Federation through university expansion, scholarships and fellowships.<sup>52</sup>

The All Nigerian Academic Council was to be set up to ensure the maintenance of the highest academic standards in the universities and be

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 9.





also responsible for qualifying examinations in the universities.

### Financial Aspect of the Increased Programme

The Federal Government estimated that the capital cost of the amended programme to be £75,000,000 by 1970 and the recurrent expenditure would be about the same. "These figures allow for population increase, but not for any decline in the purchasing power of money."<sup>53</sup> The estimates were the net cost to Governments within the framework of the existing systems of grants to voluntary agencies and of the assumed local contributions, usually collected through fees.<sup>54</sup>

The purport of all new targets was clear--Nigeria must aim to make and sustain educational effort at more than three times the existing rate.

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.



TABLE XXVI

A COMPARISON OF ASHBY'S TARGETS AND THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT'S AMENDMENTS

Subject	ASHBY Target by 1970	FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S Target by 1970
Primary School enrolment in Northern Nigeria	25%	50%
Secondary School Annual Intake	30,000	45,000
Sixth Form Streams	150	350
Sixth Form Enrolment	3,000	10,000
Grade I Teachers	3,000	5,000
Technical and Vocational Education	2,500 in Technical Institutes	5,000
Agricultural and Veterinary Education	220 Agric. Asst's. 80 Vet. Asst's.	440 160
Universities	over 10,000 students by 1970	over 10,000 by 1970

Source: This Table has been compiled from the Ashby Commission Report and Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961.





## CHAPTER XII

### THE OPERATION OF THE ASHBY PROGRAMME IN HIGHER EDUCATION

#### The University of Ife

The swiftest reaction to the report of the Ashby Commission came from the Western Region of Nigeria. Even before the Commission completed its work, the Premier of the Region had announced that it was his Government's intention to build a university of its own. Following the publication of the Report (which did not recommend a new university for the Region) the Regional Government promptly tabled before the Legislature, a White Paper to explain the necessity for establishing a university institution within the Region and also to indicate what steps were being taken towards its establishment.

The White Paper was divided into four sections.<sup>1</sup> Section I reviewed the progress of education in the Region and pointed out how the number of primary schools had risen from 3,550 in 1954 to 6,540 in 1960. Pupil enrolment in the primary schools during the period had sky-rocketed from 490,000 to 1,124,788. The number of grammar schools had increased to 167 and the number passing the School Certificate had also risen tremendously. The Paper noted that only a small percentage of this number could enter a university because there was only one university in the country and it "can take only a very limited number out of the available supply of potential students and has, therefore, unavoidably had to

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<sup>1</sup>The details of the White Paper are based on its paraphrase given by J. E. Adetoro, The Handbook of Education, Nigeria, 1961 (Igbajo: Schools and General Publication Services, 1961).



turn down every year a very large number of suitable applications for admission."<sup>2</sup>

The Paper pointed out that both the Eastern and Northern Regional Governments had already decided to build universities to solve their own problems in higher education; (ii) that the Ashby Commission had accepted Professor Harbison's estimates of Nigeria's needs of high-level manpower at 80,000 during the first ten years, and of this number, some 20,000 were expected to be university graduates; (iii) that the Ashby Commission had recommended the conversion of the Enugu and Zaria branches of the Nigerian College of Arts, Sciences and Technology into full university institutions while failing to make a similar recommendation for the Western (Ibadan) branch; (iv) that if the Ashby Commission's recommendations were implemented, the Western Region would have only its own quota of students at the University College, Ibadan and in other Federal institutions.

Section II put forward the view that the only corrective to the anomalous position created by the Ashby Commission's recommendations was to establish a new University initially from the Region's own funds.

In Section III, the Paper dealt with the siting of the proposed university. The four essential conditions were (i) a physical setting appropriate to a university; (ii) soil conditions suitable for agricultural research; (iii) easy accessibility from all parts of the Region and (iv) the existence, or the facilities for the rapid development of

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 51.





essential services such as water, electricity and telecommunications. The Paper stated that in making the final choice of a site the Government would be guided by the opinions of experts and the over-all interests of the country.

The financial aspects of the proposals were considered in Section IV. The Government envisaged a ten year development plan for the university and the money required for this project would be drawn from the resources available to the Government without endangering the success of other development plans already announced.

Section V concluded the Paper with a discussion of the immediate plans for the development of the university. These included the appointment of a University Planning Committee to undertake all the preparatory work pending the establishment of a University Provisional Council. Furthermore, a University Parliamentary Committee was to be established to reflect all shades of parliamentary opinion on the proposed institution. This body would be advisory in function.

The historic town of Ile-Ife, fifty-one miles from Ibadan, was chosen as the site of the university. The Regional Minister of Education then led a University Mission to Israel, United Kingdom and the United States with the prime purpose of seeking aid and support for the proposed institution. The next step towards the implementation of the proposals, was taken early in 1961, when the Regional Legislature passed the University of Ife Provisional Council Act. The Government then entered into negotiations with the Federal Government to secure the incorporation of the Ibadan branch of the Nigerian College into the new university.





The formal handing over ceremony took place later in the year and Professor Ajose, Head of the Department of Social and Preventative Medicine at the University College, Ibadan, was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ife. The first Registrar, A. Eke, also had had administrative experience at the University College, Ibadan.

The university began its first full year in October, 1962 and in 1964-65 had the faculties of arts, science, agriculture, economics and social services and law. It had an Institute of African Studies. The University was temporarily housed in the buildings of the former Nigerian College, pending the completion of the permanent buildings at Ile-Ife.

#### The University of Northern Nigeria

In its recommendations, the Ashby Commission had urged the creation of the University of Northern Nigeria, "as soon as possible."<sup>3</sup> The first step which was taken to implement this proposal was to consult with the British Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. As a result of this, the North Regional Government invited the Inter-University Council to send out a five-man team of experts "to advise on the scope of the proposed university, the adaptation of existing institutions (including their curricula) which would be absorbed into the new University and the modification of legislation affecting them."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Ashby Commission Report, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>Inter-University Council, Report on the University of Northern Nigeria (London: Inter-University Council, 1961), p. 8.



The team was led by Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders and was accompanied by I. O. M. Maxwell, Secretary of the Inter-University Council. The team made a tour of the educational institutions likely to be associated with the university. These were the main branch of the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology at Zaria, The Veterinary Research Institute at Vom, and the School of Arabic Studies in Kano, which had recently been renamed the Abdullahi Bayero College. There was, too, the Institute of Administration in Zaria and the Samaru Agricultural Research Institute, also at Zaria.

The team submitted a report of its findings to the North Regional Government in April, 1961.

We extend a warm welcome to the decision to found a University in the Northern Region. We are aware that the provision for primary and secondary education is in need of development, but we do not think that the foundation of University should wait on further progress in school education. We hold that education advance should proceed on all fronts at the same time, and that a University set up here and now, could do much to stimulate all forms of educational progress in the Region.<sup>5</sup>

After considering the estimates of the number of Northern students who would reach the standards of university entry, the Report concluded that "it is clear that the number of candidates from the Northern Region will be small for some years but will then steadily increase."<sup>6</sup>

It was proposed that the university should have the following ten

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 9.





schools:

- (1) School of Arts (English, French, Other Languages, History, Geography and Literature);
- (2) School of Social Studies (Economics, Political Science, Public Administration and Sociology);
- (3) School of Natural Science (Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology and Mathematics);
- (4) School of Islamic Studies;
- (5) School of Education;
- (6) School of Architecture;
- (7) School of Engineering Sciences;
- (8) School of Veterinary Science;
- (9) School of Agriculture;
- (10) School of Law.

It was further recommended that African Studies be organized in a Department until a degree in African Studies could be awarded. Then it should have a school of its own. Another proposal was a school for Extra-Mural studies.

The Report stated that the British tradition of organization of studies into departments was not generally suitable as it "sets up rigid, artificial and unnecessary boundaries between subjects, and has recently been much criticised in England."<sup>7</sup>

The degree structure recommended made a novel departure from the

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.



one subject honours degree of British universities. The degree in non-professional subjects was to be broadly based, consisting of two main subjects and two or three subsidiary subjects. The degree structure proposed was as follows:

<u>Number of Courses</u>	<u>First Year Subjects</u>
1	First main subject
1	Second main subject
1	Another subject A
1	Another subject B
1	Another subject C
	<u>Second Year</u>
2	First main subject
1	Second main subject
1	Either A, B or C
1	Either A, B or C
	<u>Third Year</u>
3	First main subject
2	Second main subject

The Report stressed the importance of the university as the centre of the Region's cultural traditions.

The Report was accepted in principle by the North Regional Government and in November, 1961, a Provisional Council for the University was appointed. Dr. N. S. Alexander, Professor of Physics at the University College, Ibadan, was appointed first Vice-Chancellor of the University and the first Chairman of the Provisional Council was the Honourable (later Sir) Shettima Kassim, who was then Governor of the Region.

In May, 1962, it was decided to rename the University of Northern Nigeria after the Region's premier, the Honourable Sir Ahmadu Bello.



A month later the Regional Legislature designated the new institution, Ahmadu Bello University.

The university was formally opened on October 11th, 1962, and at its opening there were 519 students, including 15 women. The numerical strength of the various faculties at its opening were:

Faculty of Arts (including Fine Arts)	159
Faculty of Science	32
Faculty of Education	71
Faculty of Law	12
Faculty of Engineering	161
Faculty of Architecture	74
Faculty of Agriculture	7
Faculty of Veterinary Science	3

Arrangements were also in hand to establish studies in Arabic and Islamic studies and Public Administration. The initial cost of the University was estimated at about £3 million, and already £2.1 million had been promised by the United Kingdom Government through its Technical Assistance Programme. The Rockefeller Foundation of America made an initial grant of \$350,000 towards the cost of the development of an Agricultural Research Institute. The Nigerian Chamber of Mines donated the sum of £5,000 for the equipment of an engineering and scientific library. The remainder of the capital cost and recurrent expenditures were to be provided for by the Federal Government through the National Universities Commission.

The University made a more impressive start than most observers





would have dared to predict from the less promising educational background of the Northern Region. The Regional Government, fully aware of its handicaps and late start in western education, was determined not to be left behind in the future race for the development of the country's high level manpower needs. The enthusiasm and optimism of the people and Government of the Region were aptly expressed by the Vice-Chancellor at the opening ceremony of the University. Said Dr. Alexander:

I do not believe that any other country in the world would have attempted to carry out its plan at this speed. I am sure that if we had asked for advice from overseas, they would have suggested that we should aim at October, 1964, as the opening date and that to contemplate October, 1963, would mean taking too many chances.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, the University opened in October, 1962.

### The University of Nigeria<sup>9</sup>

The story of the vision and planning behind the University of Nigeria has already been told in Chapter IX. The building programme for the university continued in full swing throughout 1960, and on October 7th, 1960, the University of Nigeria was formally opened by Her Royal Highness, Princess Alexandra of Kent, who was in the country for the Independence celebrations. In his address to the inaugural convocation which took place a week later, Dr. Azikiwe, who became Chancellor of the University, declared that it was one of the aims of the institution to

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<sup>8</sup>As reported in The Nigerian Citizen, October 17, 1962, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup>This section on the University of Nigeria is based on information contained in University of Nigeria Prospectus, 1962-63.



act as a leveling agent, to discourage social stratification and to reduce the danger of the unemployable to the minimum.

We must frankly admit that we can no longer afford to flood only the white collar jobs at the expense of the basic occupations and productive vocations, which can be as intelligently directed to create wealth, health and happiness among the greatest number of our people, particularly in the fields of agriculture, engineering, business administration, education and domestic science.<sup>10</sup>

On the 13th of October, 1960, 220 students were formally enrolled at the university and lectures began a week later. Forty-one more students were admitted in January, 1961, for a two year course leading to a Teacher's Certificate. During the 1962-63 year the university had about 1,500 students. The principal of the university was Dr. George M. Johnson.

The existing academic work of the university was organized in the following six Faculties:

Faculty of Arts

Faculty of Technology

Faculty of Social Sciences

Faculty of Research

Faculty of Sciences

Faculty of Medicine

By 1964, the following Faculties have been established: Agriculture, Business Administration, Home Economics, Education, Finance, Fine Arts, Engineering, Journalism, Languages, Law, Music, Physical Education, Religion and Secretarial Studies.

There was also a College of General Studies which served all the Faculties. The College of General Studies was organized in Divisions and

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<sup>10</sup>University of Nigeria Prospectus, 1962-63, p. 7.





each division was sub-divided into departments. The colleges were named after Nigerians and others who had distinguished themselves or pioneered in various fields.

The method adopted for the award of degrees was the quality point system. To obtain a Bachelor's Degree, a student was required to obtain a minimum of 180 credit hours and to have maintained a quality point average of 2. The following grading system was used:

A - Excellent	-- 4 Quality points
B - Good	-- 3 Quality points
C - Pass	-- 2 Quality points
D - Poor	-- 1 Quality point
E - Failure	-- 0 Quality points

The university made provisions for post-graduate degrees through advanced studies and/or research.

The University of Nigeria was a unique venture in the comprehensiveness of its aims, in the celerity in which it was developed and in its radical departure from the more conservative British tradition for which the University College, Ibadan had been severely and frequently criticized.

#### University of Lagos

In the Sessional Paper No. 3, already referred to in Chapter XI, many important statements about the proposed university of Lagos were made. The main points contained in the Paper were the Federal Government's resolve:

- (a) to establish the University of Lagos by 1962;



- (b) to establish a Faculty of Law at the University;
- (c) to establish a Medical School at the University;
- (d) to provide opportunities for higher technological studies;
- (e) to bring the training of teachers below university level under the control of the universities;
- (f) to provide for professional qualifications in banking, insurance, accountancy, transport and business administration through special departments of the university of Lagos;
- (g) that schools, departments of institutes of African Studies be established in all universities and that undergraduate courses be provided in such studies;
- (h) that universities should have autonomy in the management of their own affairs and that in the over-all interests of the country, such external subjects as finance and standards be handled by the statutory bodies like (i) the National Universities Commission, (ii) the Inter-Regional Manpower Board and (iii) All Nigeria Academic Council.<sup>11</sup>

UNESCO Advisory Commission on the University of Lagos

In pursuance of the Ashby recommendations and the amendments contained in the Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961, a UNESCO Advisory Commission was appointed in June of the same year, at the request of the Nigerian Federal Government. The chairman of the Commission was J. Capelle,

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<sup>11</sup>Educational Development, 1961-70. Sessional Paper No. 3 of 1961 (Lagos: Federal Ministry of Education, Nigeria, 1961), p. 9.





Directeur-General de l'Organisation et des Programmes Scolaires, Ministere de l'Education Nationale de France. The Commission's terms of reference were:

(a) to assist the Federal Government in defining the status, scope and nature of the proposed University of Lagos and its relationships with other institutions of higher education in the country, with particular reference to the findings of the Commission on Post-School Certificate and Higher Education and to the decisions taken by the Federal Government, thereon, and in the light of the economic and social development of the country.

(b) to prepare detailed recommendations in regard to the organization, administration and financing of the University, as well as to the range and organization of the disciplines and research programmes required.

(c) to formulate a plan of development for the University with detailed estimates as to requirements for facilities and equipment for the training and recruiting of staff and for the selection and admission of students.

(d) to examine the areas for, and the resources of, external aid for the development of the University, and to prepare requests to the United Nations Special Fund and any other agencies or bodies for this purpose.<sup>12</sup>

The Commission reconsidered the Ashby proposals for the University of Lagos. It was to be "an unusual type of institution" intended "to meet some of Nigeria's special needs for high education."<sup>13</sup> The University was to be non-residential but should have good study and catering facilities.<sup>14</sup> The University was to offer courses in commerce and

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<sup>12</sup>UNESCO Advisory Commission for the Establishment of the University of Lagos (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.





business administration and post-graduate courses in higher business management studies.<sup>15</sup> The University would also have day and evening classes, undertake correspondence courses and organize associated summer schools at various centres.

The UNESCO Commission also took note of the fact that the Ashby Commission called for "more diversity and more flexibility in university education if it is to be relevant to the needs of the Nigerian people."<sup>16</sup> Another important recommendation of the Ashby Commission was that every university in Nigeria should have a department or an institute of African Studies and they should all offer the three year B. A. (Education) degree courses. The need for practical work in the universities was stressed. Commerce and business courses were to be "sandwich courses, office based and engineering should be down to earth...with emphasis on Nigeria's special needs."<sup>17</sup> With regard to medical studies, it was suggested that Nigeria should break away from the slavish adherence to the requirements in Britain. "Those who plan courses in law must have the courage to include subjects which are appropriate to Nigeria's needs, even if they might seem out of place in Europe and America."<sup>18</sup>

The Commission accepted in principle the findings and recommendations of the Ashby Commission, but it had a number of important comments

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.



and recommendations of its own to make. These were:

- (1) that the lack of a well-trained teaching staff was the most critical fact in Nigerian education;
- (2) that the existing and planned capacities of the universities appeared to exceed those of the secondary schools with Sixth form facilities, especially in science;
- (3) that the existing facilities for the training of technicians at the secondary and post-secondary and intermediate levels were under-utilized, despite the urgent needs of the country;
- (4) that a long time projection of student places at the university was impossible because of such factors as preparation for university entrance through correspondence courses;
- (5) that the rate of growth of the Nigerian economy was such that the planned capacities of the universities might be fully utilized by 1970, and probably even be found inadequate;
- (6) that insufficient use was being made of mass-media techniques in Nigerian education;
- (7) that the Nigerian universities were very expensive in terms of cost per student and this was partly due to under-utilization of facilities;
- (8) that there was an almost universal desire for high standards in university entrance and study;
- (9) that there was an urgent need for the formation of the National Universities Commission;





(10) that the demand for university study was being conditioned by salary scales in government, commercial and industrial services;

(11) that sholarships appeared to be awarded without due regard to the financial resources of the applicants.

The Commission recommended

1. That a university be established in Lagos in 1962; and
  - (a) that legislation be passed at once to appoint the chief officers of the university;
  - (b) that the university should open with the faculties of Medicine, Law, and Commerce, but that the faculties of Arts, Science and Education might also be added in 1962 if temporary buildings were available;
  - (c) that the Faculty of Engineering be opened only when permanent buildings became available in 1964 and that the same date might also see the opening of the faculties of Arts, Science and Education;
  - (d) that an Institute of African Studies be opened;
  - (e) that the courses in the university maintain high academic standards and yet be adapted to the special interests and needs of Nigeria;
  - (f) that an Advisory Council be established to assist each faculty with the development of curriculum and relationship with the professional bodies in allied fields;
  - (g) that evening courses be developed in all faculties;



- (h) that the main university campus be located in Yaba and a branch be sited on Lagos island;
- (i) that some residential facilities be provided;
- (j) that some aptitude testing methods and counselling techniques be developed not only for use in the schools but also for the students at the university;
- (k) that additional facilities be planned to avoid waste and under-use and that plans should be reviewed periodically to bring them up to date .

2. That scholarships should be made available to the students on a strict basis of financial need.<sup>19</sup>

The Commission then went on to make a more detailed examination of the backgrounds to its recommendations. The establishment of the university--the fifth in Nigeria--was defended on two grounds: (i) that it fulfilled purposes not served elsewhere and (ii) that it would be ready to meet the expanded needs which might arise in the mid-1970's. The Commission was, however, worried about the adequacy of the supply of secondary school leavers to fill the universities.

It was proposed that the permanent site of the university be not less than 400 acres on the edge of the Federal territory. The branch on the island of Lagos was to open in 1962 and its accommodation should not be temporary. "Nothing is more expensive than the temporary."<sup>20</sup> The

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 11-13.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 19.



permanent site might be expected to be engulfed by the growth of the metropolitan area and so in time the university might be expected to be a civic and urban university.

Some residence accommodation was suggested for part of the student body, especially for those whose homes were far away from Lagos and for those whose homes in Lagos were not suitable for study.

On the question of university government, The Commission endorsed the Ashby view that the model of the University College, Ibadan, was a good one.

Faculties and institutes of the university were recommended to expand from about 300 students in the first year to about 600 in the fifth year. By 1970, it was envisaged that the university would have established the faculties of law, medicine, commerce and business administration, technology, science arts and education.<sup>21</sup>

#### Law Faculty

The Commission estimated that an annual increase of 350 graduate lawyers would be needed to augment the existing 946 practitioners in Nigeria, of which 460 were in active practice, 146 on the bench. The greatest need for lawyers would be in commercial, industrial, financial and investment enterprises.<sup>22</sup> It was hoped that about two-thirds of those who completed the degree course would attend the fourth year for practical instruction. The curriculum designed for the law faculty was

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 34.





First Year

Contracts (1)	Procedure
Criminal Law	Legal Writing
Torts	Public Speaking
Constitutional Law	

Second Year

Property	Partnerships
Trusts and Equity	Family Law
Agency	Landlord and Tenant
Company Law	Mortgages
Contracts (11)	

Third Year

Jurisprudence	Taxation
Wills	Conflict of Laws
Succession	Islamic Law
Evidence	

International Law, Legislation, Advanced Customary Law, Advanced Taxation, Trade Regulation were to be offered as optional subjects. The examination at the end of the third year was to lead to the LL.B. degree.

Fourth Year

Fourth year courses would include, among other things:

Conduct of actions to close proceedings,  
 Statements of claims, affidavits, writs, summonses,  
 application for injunctions  
 Collection of proof



Preparation for trial

Appeals

Enforcement of judgment

Conduct of trials; examination in chief, cross examination

Divorce petition, examination of petitions

Brief writing

Drafting: agreements of sale, land transactions, contracts

(e.g., buildings, personal, etc.) wills, trust instruments

Mortgages

Estate planning

Taxation problems

Organization of office, accounts, files, clients funds

Full moots

Formal exercises

Legal Ethics

Professional etiquette<sup>23</sup>

### Commerce and Business Administration

The Commerce curriculum is designed to provide students with a broad basis orientation in the social and physical sciences, as well as facility in the instrumental subject of language, both spoken and written. The study of business itself, is approached first from an over-all economic basis particularized by means of analysis of functional activities. Finally, there is a concentration of study in a single field along the lines of the student's primary interest to provide the skill whereby a start in business employment can be made.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-67.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 38.





The curriculum was limited in scope to the training of the functional and staff specialists. The training of the policy making administrator was left to await the development of post-graduate and higher management studies. The suggested programme for the basic degree course was as follows:

#### First Year

Fundamentals of Effective English (Business writing)

Business speaking

General Economics: Economic Organization and Principles

Introduction to Business

Physical Sciences as related to Man or Biological Sciences as related to Man

Principles of Psychology or Fundamentals of Government

#### Second Year

Elementary Accounting

Business Organization and Management

Markets and Marketing Methods

Law and Business Enterprise

Statistics for Business Control of Economic Geography or Labour

Problems or Principles of Psychology (if not taken in the first year).

#### Third Year

At least two Advanced Courses were to be taken in the major subjects, one course in each of two minor subjects and one optional subject. The fields of specialization were:



- Accounting: Intermediate Accounting  
Cost Accounting or Auditing
- Economics: Business Fluctuations  
Economic Trends and Comparisons  
Economic Growth and Development (problems of)  
Labour problems (if not taken in second year)
- Marketing: Advertising  
Fundamentals of Retail Trade  
Fundamentals of Wholesaling  
International Marketing  
Export and Import Practices and Control
- Statistics:
- General: General courses not already taken in first or second years<sup>25</sup>

### Medicine

The number of pre-clinical students to be admitted during the first five years of the university's life was as follows:

1962	25	1965	75
1963	25	1966	100
1964	50	1967	150

The medical degrees were to be taken at the end of the fifth year. The examinations should be in two parts with two terms in between. The principal subjects to be offered were Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, Child Health, Community Health. Oral and Clinical examinations were to be given in such special subjects as Psychiatry, Ophthalmology and Otolaryngology. The medical degrees to be awarded should be Bachelor of Medicine (M.B.) and Bachelor of Chirurgery (B. Ch.).

Other developments for which provisions should be made were for

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 36-37.



specialist diplomas, research facilities, a university teaching hospital, medical library, school of nursing and school for training technicians, auxilliary medical and dental surgery staff.

### Arts Faculty

This should award a three year general degree and a fourth year could be spent in taking honours. An exceptional student might be allowed to qualify for the B. A. and the Teachers' diploma at the same time. There should be a compulsory Faculty Course in the third year.

### Science Faculty

Four subjects were to be taken in the first year, including two main ones. In the second year two main subjects and a minor one were to be taken. The third year course should be the same as for the second. There should be a close relationship between this Faculty and the Faculty of Education.

### Home Science

A Department of Home Economics was to be established under the Faculty of Arts. Intending teachers of this subject would also be required to take education courses.

### Faculty of Education

It was proposed that both the diploma and degree courses be offered in Education. The Institute of Education would be charged with the promotion of research into primary and secondary education.

Of the Education degree, itself, the Commission stated that:





Although the student will save one year by working for his degree and diploma concurrently, each year will be longer in order to provide time for observation and teaching practice, and the course will be somewhat heavier than the usual three year programme leading to a Bachelor's degree.<sup>26</sup>

### Faculty of Engineering

The Commission emphasized that:

All professional engineers must be educated and also trained in their profession; by education we mean the learning of methods of thought and analysis and the acquisition of the minimum amount of that large body of factual knowledge and skills which exist with regard to the special fields in which a person is to work.<sup>27</sup>

The regular three year B. Eng. degree would be followed by a year of specialization for the B. Eng. (Hons.) degree.

### African Studies

This should cover many subjects at different levels and should include (i) thoroughly investigated materials suitable for inclusion in undergraduate and graduate courses and (ii) the development and maintenance of African heritage. This should embody research on social and scientific matters relating to Nigeria and Africa. Two major area fields were pointed out. They were African Civilization--in its past, present and future aspects.

1. (a) Anthropology, history, archaeology, customs, music and handicrafts;

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 57.



(b) Social and economic life: structure, institutions and development.

2. African Natural Resources: This should cover a very large field of investigation ( as yet only at a formative stage), including botany, zoology, geology, oceanography and economic development. African medicine was another subject to be given particular attention.

#### Evening Courses and Correspondence Courses

Evening courses were recommended to meet the present backlog of qualified students who were employed or earning their living and to make fuller use of the expensive capital facilities, equipment, classrooms and academic staff. All courses should be of the same standard, irrespective of whether day or evening and should be conducted by staff of the same quality. Five years of part-time studies would be equated to three years of full-time studies.

An Institute of Correspondence should be set up and should initially consist of administrative staff only. The Institute should investigate the experiences of Nigerian students in the preparation for the University of London external degrees, the methods of teaching of the more reputable correspondence colleges and also arrange with one of them a contract for five years to undertake teaching on a limited profit basis. The Institute would also undertake short time release and vacation courses.

It was proposed that the University should have liaison with the Lagos Museum, the National Library, the Bureau of Standards and with





other Nigerian educational institutions.

### Entrance Standards

On the matter of university entrance standards, it was proposed to adopt five credit passes at the West African School Certificate examination or five subjects at the ordinary level plus two principal subjects at the Higher School Certificate examination or two Advanced Level subjects at the General Certificate of Education, as the minimum qualification for entry into university studies. There might also be a concessional entrance examination during the first five years. It was suggested that entrance standards be the same in all the Nigerian universities.

### Implementation of the Recommendations<sup>28</sup>

The University of Lagos was duly opened in October, 1962, as recommended. The Vice-Chancellor of the University was a well-known Nigerian scholar, Dr. Eni Njoku. At the time of his appointment he was Professor of Botany at the University College, Ibadan.

The university began with courses in Medicine, Arts, Science, Law, Economics and Social Science. The Faculties of Education and Engineering were unable to make an immediate start.

### University of Lagos Medical School

Early in 1962, Professor H. Oritsejolomi Thomas of the University College, Ibadan, Teaching Hospital was appointed Dean of the Lagos

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<sup>28</sup>The details contained under the next two sub-headings were based on Federal Nigeria, V, No. 10, October, 1962.



School of Medicine and Chairman of the Hospital Management Council. Professor F. O. Dosekun, also a former member of the Ibadan University Hospital was appointed sub-Dean and deputy Chairman. At the first meeting of the Hospital Management Council which took place on March 31st, 1962, the detailed plans for the Medical School and Teaching Hospital were discussed. It was agreed that the Medical School should organize a five year course at the end of which the University of Lagos would award the medical degrees. The first year of the course was to be spent in the Basic Medical Sciences Department.

When the Medical School opened, 28 students were enrolled, and it was planned to step up the annual intake to 200 and to have about 50 post-graduate students at any one time.

In this way, the Medical School, and the Teaching Hospital hope to make their contribution to the solution of the present acute problem of shortage of medical personnel in Nigeria.<sup>29</sup>

The 350-bed Teaching Hospital which the School started was to be expanded to accommodate 800 beds. A Nursing School was started to give a three and one-half year course in General Nursing. The certificate awarded at the end of the course was to be a Nigerian one which would receive the recognition of the General Nursing Council of England and Wales. There was also a plan to train medical pathologists and other auxiliary personnel.

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 11.





### The Federal Law School

Although the Ashby Commission touched upon the desirability of providing a system of legal education which would be Nigerian in character, it did not go into details as to how this could be done. Accordingly, the Federal Government appointed a panel of experts to look into the question and the results were embodied in the Legal Education Act of 1962.

Before the passing of this Act, anyone who aspired to the practice of law in Nigeria had to be trained in England and be called to the English bar.

Under the new Act, future legal practitioners, whether as barristers and/or solicitors, would be required to spend a year in specialized training at the Federal Law School, in addition to any law degree or professional qualifications obtained either in Nigeria or from abroad. The following exemptions were made for the period of transition which was to end in 1965.

1. A person was regarded as qualified to practice law in Nigeria if he has, on or before August 30th, 1962, passed either the English Bar Final Examinations or the Solicitors Final Examination.
2. A similar exemption applied to any person who, on or before that date, had been awarded a conditional pass in either examination, provided that the full pass was obtained at the September, 1962, examinations.
3. An exemption was also granted to any student who, through





passing the English Bar Final, had not been called to the Bar. For a student to claim exemption under this clause, he must have been reading in approved chambers in Lagos or in London and he must have been called to the Bar by the end of 1963.

4. A student who was reading for a higher degree in law at a recognized university would be exempted from attending the Federal Law School provided that (i) he had commenced studies before October, 1962, and (ii) provided he claimed the exemption before the end of 1965.
5. A Nigerian member of the English Bar might be exempted from attendance at the Federal Law School in whole or in part if he was able to satisfy the Nigerian Legal Council that he had read for one year or more in a reputable London chamber.
6. Anyone who returned to Nigeria between August 30th, 1962, and August 30th, 1963, with legal qualifications which were obtained elsewhere, and who was not entitled to exemptions under the aforementioned clauses, would be required to receive three months of professional training at the Federal Law School.
7. Anyone who qualified in England between 1963 and 1965 would be allowed to spend only three months at the Federal Law School, provided he entered the employment of one of the Governments in Nigeria or furnished a certificate from the Attorney General that he was reading in chambers or was in the



judicial department of the Government which employed him after only three months in the school. A person who elected to go into Government service under the above conditions must remain in that service for a minimum period of nine months or else the partial exemption would be forfeited.

The fees payable at the Federal Law School were as follows:

For a three month course - £ 25

For a one year course - £200

This covers tuition, chamber practice, court work and enrolment fees.

The following courses were to be offered at the Law School:

- (1) The Nigerian Legal System (including the Nigerian Constitution in Outline),
- (2) The Law of Criminal and Civil Procedure (including the Penal Code and Procedure in Northern Nigeria),
- (3) Conveyancing and Drafting of Commercial Documents,
- (4) Professional Ethics.





## CHAPTER XIII

### THE POST-ASHBY DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION BELOW UNIVERSITY LEVEL

#### The Commission to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria

Another direct result of the recommendations of the Ashby Commission was the decision of the West Regional Government, made barely two months after the publication of the document Investment in Education to set up another commission to review the educational system of the Region.

The Ashby Commission which was established by the Federal Government to make recommendations on manpower needs and higher education requirements set a target which can only be reached if the present primary and secondary education systems are re-organised and expanded. The Western Region Government is planning to establish a second University in the Region to carry out its own share of the higher education programme. In order to be able to carry out this higher education programme successfully the Government recognised that primary and secondary education will have to be re-organised and expanded.<sup>1</sup>

To prepare the ground for the expansion and re-organization, a seven man commission was appointed in December, 1960, under the chairmanship of the Reverend Canon S. Banjo, Principal, St. Luke's Teacher Training College, Ibadan. The terms of reference of the Commission were:

(1) To review:

(a) the existing structure and working of the primary and secondary (grammar and modern) school systems in the Region, in particular, the future of secondary modern schools;

(b) the adequacy or otherwise of the teacher training programme having regard to the present and future needs of the Region;

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Commission Appointed to Review the Educational System of Western Nigeria (Ibadan: The Government Printer, 1961), p. 1.



(c) the inter-relationship between primary education and the various types of secondary education with a view to making pre-University education in Western Nigeria dovetail into an organic whole; and

(ii) To make recommendations and report.<sup>2</sup>

The Commission devoted six weeks to its work which included an extensive tour of the Region to see the schools and colleges at work, the hearing of oral evidence at various centres in the Region, the consideration of written evidence from all parts of the Region, the study of Government documents on educational policies as well as oral evidence given by experts, the study of examination papers and syllabuses of some of the institutions.

The first part of the Commission's report was devoted to a survey of the existing system of education. There was a brief mention of the historical developments which began with the founding of the first school in 1842 and ended in 1952, when under a new constitution, the Regional Government assumed full control of the provision of educational facilities below the university level.

The primary schools offered a six year course whose main aims were:

(a) the development of sound standards of individual conduct and behaviour;

(b) an understanding of the community and of what is of value for its development and of the contribution which the individual can make to the community;

(c) the development of a lively curiosity leading to desire for knowledge about the immediate environment and the world outside;

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid.





(d) permanent literacy;

(e) the acquisition of some skill of hand and the recognition of the value of manual work.<sup>3</sup>

The Commission was of the opinion that on the whole, these objectives had not been achieved even though adequate provisions had been made in the syllabus for their attainment.

The objectives of the secondary modern school course were:

(1) to teach practical skills that will be useful in the pursuit of certain careers;

(2) to extend the scope of the primary school; thus the secondary modern school is expected to provide a well-rounded education for children who have not got the opportunity of attending secondary grammar schools; and

(3) to teach elementary commercial subjects.<sup>4</sup>

The Commission saw the position of the secondary modern schools as one which was bedevilled by lack of adequately qualified staff, lack of funds for the provision of necessary equipment and the almost complete neglect of the non-academic subjects. The field of secondary modern education had given great scope for unscrupulous proprietors to employ low paid, young, unqualified and inexperienced teachers instead of the better class of teachers.

The position of the secondary grammar schools appeared satisfactory. In the Commission's opinion,

The only serious criticism of the secondary grammar school is the neglect of any technical or practical education. At

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 5.





present secondary school boys seem to have been groomed to think of themselves as being too good for any sort of manual work. It was observed that even the science learnt is very much out of date laboratory science and not related to their environment or in keeping with modern scientific knowledge.<sup>5</sup>

In the field of teacher education, the Region produced four grades of teachers. The lowest grade was the Grade III teacher who had been trained for two years after the completion of the secondary modern school course. There was the Grade II teacher with four or even three years training. The Grade I teacher was required to have passed in two subjects at the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education and also to have passed a Practical Teaching Test. Above them all was the new Teachers' Certificate which was obtainable after three years of training at the Western Region Teachers' College.

The Grade III colleges were originally established as an emergency measure for the older teachers. Later on the colleges were used to train teachers for the Free Primary Education Scheme. There had been a heavy criticism of the continued existence of the Grade III college.

The results of both the Grade III and Grade II Examinations have been very disappointing. Of the 4,838 who took the Grade III examination in 1959, only 2,998 passed. Grade II teachers were no better; out of 2,422 students who sat in 1959, only 994 passed. The Commission views with concern the large expenditure wasted on a scheme by which over half of the teachers trained fail their examinations, and have looked at the syllabus and the examinations carefully.<sup>6</sup>

The Grade I teachers training courses were introduced later. A

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 7.



number of experiments were being conducted to produce specialist teachers in this grade. There was the two year Rural Science course at Akure and Asaba, to train Grade I teachers. There was also the Grade I course in general subjects which could be undertaken at the Ibadan Government Teacher Training College. This course was started under the auspices of the International Co-operation Administration of the United States. A similar course was also run for commercial subject teachers in the secondary modern schools. Reference, too, has already been made to the superior qualification obtainable at the Western Region Teachers' College after a three year course.

There was only one vocational institution in the Region for girls. The courses available included dress-making, machine embroidery, matronship and housekeeping, but the girls who graduated had difficulties in obtaining suitable employment. No help was given to enable them to establish businesses on their own.

The general comment of the Commission on the state of teacher training in the Region was:

The teaching profession has been termed a sick profession. The minimum qualification for entry has been very low. The salary scales are not comparable with those of other types of employment like the Civil Service. There are very few promotion possibilities and these can only be obtained by passing examinations. The teacher's professional efficiency hardly affects his career. Many teachers, instead of teaching efficiently, are busy working hard to "uplift" themselves, or running private coaching practice to increase their income. Many of those who succeed in "uplifting" themselves into Grade I find it more worthwhile to get out of the teaching profession altogether and join the Civil Service where they





will be paid a higher salary.<sup>7</sup>

The responses to the findings of the survey of the existing system were embodied in a number of recommendations. They were:

- (1) that the school year arrangement be changed to bring it in line with the university year and that a long summer vacation be given to the schools from mid-July to mid-September.
- (2) that the secondary modern schools be transformed by merger or expansion into junior secondary schools on a fee paying basis and that their doors be open to all pupils who had passed the Primary School Leaving Certificate examination;
- (3) that within five years, all admissions to the existing secondary grammar schools be made from pupils in the third year classes of the junior secondary school;
- (4) that pre-vocational training in agriculture, home economics, commercial subjects, technical subjects and pre-nursing studies be introduced into every junior secondary school;
- (5) that in connection with the introduction of pre-vocational education three permanent Advisory Committees be appointed and each to meet three times a year to discuss the provision and development of pre-vocational education. The Committees were to be set up as follows:  
  
Committee A to deal with Agriculture, Home Economics and Pre-nursing Education.

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



Committee B to deal with Technical Education in all kinds of secondary schools and in the Trade Centres;

Committee C to concern itself with Commercial Education in the junior and senior secondary schools and the lower ranges of courses in Commercial Colleges.<sup>8</sup>

One important recommendation with regard to the primary schools was the abolition of the post of supervisor in the voluntary agency schools.

We have found that the present system under which these schools are administered is unsatisfactory from every point of view. Particularly, the existence of supervisors employed by the voluntary agencies, but paid for by the Government, not only fails, we find, to be of service to the schools, but is productive of, or makes for, much that is educationally undesirable and financially reprehensible.<sup>9</sup>

It was also proposed that the competitive clusters of small primary schools which had been brought into existence by various religious sects, and which for the most part were inefficiently conducted, be made to merge. The Commission, however, made it clear that:

We do not desire to reduce the religious element in education, but in our judgment, it is morally wrong that public funds should be used to strengthen sectarian cleavage among the people. By proper co-operation among the voluntary agencies and by rationalisation among them of their work in the various communities, things could be put on a proper footing. But in view of the failure of some of the voluntary agencies to take the initiative generally in this process, this duty now falls upon the Government, which should accept it at once and proceed with vigour.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 9-10.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 11.





On the question of teacher training, the Commission agreed with the view of the Ashby Commission that "there is a state of emergency in teacher training in Nigeria."<sup>11</sup> The Banjo Commission, however, went one step further to make proposals that would not only ameliorate the conditions under a short term burst with international help, but which would also "weld the teachers together into a true profession with high professional standards and ever increasing skill, by 1970, or by 1975 at the very latest."<sup>12</sup>

The Commission recommended that the Ministry of Education itself be re-organized to bring about a situation in which "policy, desirable professionally, could not be, if such a situation were ever to arise, thwarted administratively."<sup>13</sup>

It was emphasized that changes between the administrative officers of the Ministry of Education and other ministries should occur less frequently than it did at the time of the Commission.

In Chapter III, the significance for the Western Region, of the Ashby Commission Report was discussed. The following points were given special consideration:

- (a) the excessive proportion of the educational budget which, in the past, had been devoted to primary education;

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 12.





- (b) the state of emergency in teacher training;
- (c) the suggested educational pyramid;
- (d) the suggestions regarding the Sixth Forms;
- (e) the recommendations regarding agricultural education;
- (f) the recommendations for technical and commercial education;
- (g) new educational techniques.<sup>14</sup>

The Primary School was the subject of Chapter V. The Commission noted that since the beginning of a free primary education scheme in the Region began, there had been a general agreement among the men and women who operated the scheme that there had been a fall in the standards of the primary school. Fifteen factors were isolated as contributing to this situation. They were:

- (1) Preponderance of untrained teachers on the staff of the schools;
- (2) School headships being held by Grade III or uncertificated teachers;
- (3) Untrained teachers teaching primary I;
- (4) Lack of continuity in staffing;
- (5) Teachers' private studies;
- (6) Unprofessional behaviour of some primary school teachers;
- (7) The length of the course;
- (8) Too large classes;
- (9) Automatic promotion;
- (10) The presence of under-aged children;
- (11) The backward child;
- (12) The sketchy nature of the syllabus;
- (13) Cessation or restriction of corporal punishment;
- (14) Lack of co-operation from parents or guardians; and
- (15) Inadequate supervision of schools whether by the Inspectorate or the voluntary agency supervisors.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 14.



The Commission's recommendations and suggestions for remedying the situations, included, the replacement of untrained teachers from the primary schools within five years, the restoration of the Grade II and Grade I teachers to the primary schools, the use of the most understanding and the very well trained teachers for the first year of the primary school, the introduction of a National Teachers' Certificate of Grade I quality and the improvement of teachers working conditions, the introduction of a system of promotion for the conscientious teacher to minimize the tendency to spend a good deal of time in studying for examinations which at the time of the Commission, provided the only channel for promotion and better salaries, the reduction of pupil enrolment in the lowest classes of primary schools from forty-five to forty, the increase from three to five of the number of children who could be retained in a class for a second year, a stricter enforcement of the rule banning under-aged children in the schools, the provision of extra care for the backward child, the establishment of a Parent-Teacher Association for every school, visits by teachers and headmasters to the homes of pupils who had been absent from school for some time and the encouragement of parents to buy books and materials for their children.

Above all, it was claimed that the system of supervision and inspection could be improved by re-organization. The best of the voluntary agency supervisors should be absorbed into the Government service as Visiting Teachers or Inspecting Assistants and the rest be sent back into the classrooms.

In Chapter V, secondary education with special reference to the





junior secondary schools was examined. The Commission found that the inadequacy of primary education was generally recognized by parents throughout the Region. The Commission also stated that it was the Government's policy to "plan a system of secondary education which will be open to every child and will ultimately be free for every child."<sup>16</sup> However, the Government officials told the Commission that a free secondary education for all could not be achieved within the next five years in view of its already heavy commitments in the fields of primary and higher education. The Commission found general agreement that there was a need to introduce a more logical, more democratic and more economically efficient system of secondary education.

The steps recommended to achieve this were the merger or expansion of the existing secondary modern schools into three-stream middle schools, which would be known as junior secondary schools to take in all the children from the primary schools on a fee paying basis.

It was recommended that the existing grammar schools be renamed Senior Secondary Schools and take in the most academically gifted pupils from the third year of the junior secondary schools. Other important recommendations were that there should be a formal liaison between the senior secondary school and its feeder junior secondary schools, that pre-vocational educational courses be introduced in the second and third years of the junior secondary school, that the teachers for such courses be specially trained under a scheme to be called Operation Leap, that

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<sup>16</sup>Banjo Commission Report, p. 21.



pupils who do not qualify for entry into the senior secondary school should take the Junior Secondary Leaving Examination, that the junior secondary school scheme should start in towns in 1962 and be completed everywhere by 1965, that the grammar schools continue to admit pupils at the age of twelve until the first batch of junior secondary school pupils would be ready for admission in 1965, at the age of fifteen.

The Trade Centres formed the focus of the Commission's attention in Chapter VI. The work done at these centres seemed to have satisfied the Commission, which, nevertheless, felt that the matter of recruitment to the staff of these centres should be handled by "a Western Region Committee which has, at high level, representatives of all groups concerned in the industrial and economic development of the Region and of the country."<sup>17</sup> Such a Committee would be the Advisory B Committee already referred to.

The Commission suggested that there should be long term planning of the trades taught as the boys in the existing centres were being prepared for trades which were becoming less common as a result of changes in industrial methods.

It has been suggested to us for instance, that it is much more important to train young men who will be expert in repairing air-conditioners and television sets than in cabinet making, and that courses in auto-engineering are too few.<sup>18</sup>

It was suggested, too, that the existing lack of even the most

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.





elementary system of vocational guidance should be rectified by the introduction of part-time training for selected staff of the junior secondary schools. For the actual teaching of an industrial or commercial skill, it was proposed that a special Training College for Technical Teachers be established after the methods of training technical instructors in such countries as Germany, France, Sweden, the United States and the United Kingdom had been studied.

Finally, it was recommended that the number of trade centres be increased and that maximum use should be made of their expensive equipment through the introduction of "second shift" classes and instructors.

The Commission received evidence from Dr. Skapski of the International Co-operation Administration who stressed the development of a Nigerian middle class made up largely of skilled workers who could set up businesses of their own. In this connection, it was recommended that the Western Region Finance Corporation should extend its facilities "to advance sums of money to people specially recommended by trade centres as persons who could be expected to build up businesses of their own if they were lent a small amount of capital at a low rate of interest and with a repayment period of several years."<sup>19</sup>

The young women who were being trained at the Abeokuta trade centre deserved such help.

The proposals and recommendations for the senior secondary schools were dealt with in Chapter VI. The school structure which the

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 30.





Commission envisaged for the future was to be built around a 6:3:4 framework. This meant that pupils would be expected to enter the primary school at the age of six and remain there until they were twelve. At twelve, they would transfer to the three year junior secondary school. The best academic streams of the secondary schools would enter the senior secondary schools. The remaining streams might go out to take jobs or enter trade centres. The pupils who entered the senior secondary school at fifteen would be expected to spend four years to reach the level of the Higher School Certificate or General Certificate of Education at the Advanced Level to qualify for entry into the university.

Under the new structure, it was hoped that first 60 per cent and later 100 per cent of all the primary school leavers would enter the junior secondary schools and about 30 per cent of the junior secondary leavers would go to the senior secondary schools. Only 50 per cent of the senior secondary school pupils would be expected to go to the sixth forms. Others would go to technical colleges or Teachers' Colleges or enter into employment. Of those to enter the sixth forms, about 70 per cent would be expected to gain admission into the university.

The advantages of the new system were described as better integration, a more economical use of specialist staff and the postponement of the decision on a pupil's fate from the end of the primary school stage to the end of the junior secondary school.

The schedule for the implementation of the new secondary school organization was as follows:

1962-64 - intake into the new junior secondary schools and the



expansion of the sixth forms;

1965 - cessation of direct recruitment from the primary schools into the existing grammar schools;

1966 - disappearance of the old Class II from the grammar schools;

1967 - the addition of lower sixth forms to more senior secondary schools;

1968 - the addition of the upper sixth forms to the grammar school to complete the structure to university entrance level.<sup>20</sup>

The Commission regarded the following conditions as necessary for the success of the scheme: availability of additional staff from overseas, the rigorous pursuit of a five year plan to train Grade I teachers, the unconditional acceptance of association between the junior secondary schools and the senior secondary schools nearest them, the availability of grants for general science laboratories in the junior secondary schools and for physics, chemistry and biology in the senior secondary schools, as efficient system of vocational guidance, existence of facilities for instruction in technical, commercial or agricultural subjects in the senior secondary schools.<sup>21</sup>

Taking into consideration the fact that the Region would be turning out 180,000 primary school leavers a year for the next five years, and considering the fact that the Government was already committed to providing 18,000 first year places in the senior secondary schools

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 33-34.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 34.





(compared to 7,425 in 1960) and also taking into account that the Region would have no less than 9,000 pupils in the School Certificate year and 3,000 in the sixth forms, nothing short of emergency measures were believed capable of producing the desired results. In order to meet the emergencies, the Commission suggested that no more secondary grammar schools be allowed to open except in underschooled areas, until the existing ones had qualified teachers, well-equipped laboratories, additional classrooms and until expansion had been made to the sixth forms. The Government's plan to treble the streams in ten of the existing secondary grammar schools was most welcome in the eyes of the Commission.

It was recommended further that the Government should open more junior secondary schools in areas where needed and in general there should be about 300 pupils in each school. Three such schools were expected to feed a senior secondary school. The opening of more girls' junior secondary schools and the expansion of the existing girls' grammar schools was warmly urged. In addition to the National High Schools proposed by Ashby, the Banjo Commission suggested the addition of four State High Schools which should begin with the sixth forms and grow downwards as suggested by the Ashby Commission. Other recommendations were the expansion of the existing sixth forms to two streams and the preparation of students for the General Certificate of Education at the Advanced Level by evening classes in the big towns.

The importance of science education was given a special stress. Some of the senior secondary schools with well-developed laboratories were urged to take on double streams of science courses. The Government



was urged to invest money in the training of specialist science teachers, to provide graduate science teachers with at least five years teaching experience with opportunities for refresher courses abroad, to organize regular refresher courses for science teachers during the vacations, to see that science teachers in the junior secondary schools were more closely supervised by qualified staff, to encourage science teachers to write their own books, to make available facilities for the training of laboratory assistants and to make more extensive use of audio-visual aids.

For commercial and technical education, it was suggested that the technical institutes be expanded and made to run both day and evening courses, that technical and commercial sixth form classes be established to prepare students for more advanced work in the universities, that boarding schools be expanded to take in day students. Also, to handle the recommendations for the use of audio-visual materials it was recommended that some selected groups of experienced teachers be trained abroad for television and radio programme broadcasting, that groups of schools within an area be supplied with sound film projectors and that every secondary school and every teacher training college should possess a film strip projector.

The handling of the emergency situation in teacher-training was taken up in Chapter VIII.

We recommend that, of the 26,000 primary school teachers who have received no formal teacher training, those who, by the end of 1961, will have taught for at least fifteen years be given two intensive vacation courses of six weeks' duration, one in 1962 and the other in 1963. The teachers who successfully complete these courses should be graded A and B. Those in Grade A should be given the Honorary Teachers





successfully complete these courses should be graded A and B. Those in Grade A should be given the Honorary Teachers Certificate Grade II, and those in Grade B, the Honorary Teachers Certificate Grade III. The rest should cease to be teachers as from the 1st of January, 1964.<sup>22</sup>

All the other untrained teachers (except those who had been to secondary modern schools) should be trained for two years as Grade III teachers. For this purpose existing Grade III teachers' colleges were urged to transform their dormitories into classrooms and thus become day training colleges. Admission into the colleges was to be by entrance examination. The top one-third would be trained in the Grade II colleges and the rest in the Grade III colleges. The first intake would begin training in 1962 and the second and final intake in 1963. Thus, it would be possible to terminate the existence of Grade III colleges in 1965 and the principle that all primary schools in the Region be staffed by only qualified teachers could be put into effect as from January, 1966. Under the emergency scheme, no further intake of regular Grade III students was to be accepted for training. As from 1962 the colleges would either be upgraded into Grade II or be taken up for the emergency training until 1965.

It was proposed that the Grade II training course be continued only until there were enough secondary school leavers to undergo the three-year Grade I course. Meanwhile, Grade III teachers were to be allowed to return to the Grade II colleges after only one year of teaching instead of the two years required under existing regulations. Also,

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 50.





temporary Grade II colleges were to be opened but the goal was to wind up all the colleges below Grade I by 1970, giving place to the National Certificate which would be of Grade I quality. Co-operation was urged between the Regional and Federal Governments for the evolution of this certificate which would permit specialization at various levels--primary, junior secondary, senior secondary or teacher training.

In order to enable the Region to have all the Grade I teachers that it required, it was suggested as a first objective, that six of the established Grade II colleges be upgraded to the level of the Western Region Teachers' College at Ibadan and that three more such colleges be established by the Government. Of those ten Grade I colleges, it was further suggested that two be earmarked for the training of teachers who already possessed the Grade II Certificate.

Besides the ten colleges, four more were to be established for training teachers of commercial subjects. Two more Rural Science colleges were also needed to supplement those being trained at Akure and Asaba.

The initial training of technical teachers would be done by expatriates--thus priming the pump until the Region could train its own technical teachers.

Other suggestions included the close link between the Teachers' Colleges and a University Institute of Education and the award of maintenance grants to enable graduate teachers to obtain post-graduate degrees. The Commission had reservations about the three year B. Ed. degree proposed by the Ashby Commission.



We of this Commission, are agreed that the idea be deprecated if it entails the invention of a cheap degree course to attract all sorts and conditions of people into teaching. To mix academic work with a professional course at that level would be a break with informed educational tradition... But if the course can follow the pattern of the B. Ed. Degree at McGill University where the curriculum was said to be heavier for a B. Ed. Degree than for a B. A. and was certainly not considered inferior to the latter, and where Methodology and Practical Teaching were not accepted as academic subjects and therefore had to be done in extra time, thereby making the B. Ed. Course eight weeks longer each year for four years, the idea might be worth considering.<sup>23</sup>

The Commission seemed to be more in favour of post-graduate training of teachers. For the future the Commission recommended that Associateship courses at the University and the Nigerian College be thrown open only to the Grade I teachers and that vacation courses be established for teachers in all subjects.

Library facilities in the schools were found generally inadequate and the Commission suggested special courses to teach the operation of school libraries. The Commission commended the Regional Government for the provisions already available through radio and television but also suggested that more use be made of U. S. A. and British science teaching films and that programmes be more closely related to particular syllabuses. Another suggestion was the equipment of a large trailer with an up-to-date book exhibition, complete with films and lecturers. This trailer could be sent to the secondary schools and teachers' colleges to show books and films.

The institution of a method of promotion for teachers was

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 54.





recommended. This might follow a series of vacation courses for teachers with at least five years experience in their grades.

It was further suggested that the Government's views about educational matters be made more widely known through the Teachers Monthly, broadsheets, circular letters and a handbook of suggestions.

The Commission's Report was concluded with a chapter on Administration and Supervision. The recommendations under this heading were the discontinuation of the district supervisor system and the expansion of the Inspectorate Division of the Ministry of Education. Denominational Education Secretaries were also to take part of the work previously done by the supervisors and each group of schools was urged to have a management committee. Part of the work of the supervisors was also to be done by the Local Education Authorities. A novel suggestion was the payment of teachers' salaries by the Local Education Authorities.

Finally, a Provincial Advisory Committee was recommended to act in an advisory capacity and to bring up educational matters for the consideration of the Regional Advisory Board. The Report contained a number of appendices on such subjects as The Syllabus for Nature Study, Gardening and Health, Craft Education, The Teaching of Art, The Need for a School Libraries Project, Examinations in General, and Teachers' Salaries. Of these, the recommendations on teachers' salaries deserve some mention. It was suggested that the salaries attached to the principalship of teacher training colleges be made so attractive that heads of senior secondary schools and other leading members of the profession would be willing to apply for them, that there should be an order of



overlapping maxima in salary scales at all grades to encourage upward professional mobility, that professional skill as distinct from academic knowledge be recognized for promotion, that salary scales for qualifications obtained overseas be made more attractive, that specialist committees be appointed to work out salary scale ranges.

### Criticisms of the Commission's Report

The Western Regional Government could be described as a pace setter in educational matters. The celerity with which it sought to examine and implement the proposals of the Ashby Commission was praiseworthy but it had its disadvantages.

By the standards of the Ashby Commission, the proposals of the Banjo Commission were even more massive and more unconventional. It called for the scrapping of the entire school system and the operation of a new one in less than a year. The machinery which the Ashby Commission suggested for channeling overseas aid to prime the pump of Nigerian education had not even been set up. The measure and nature of the response to the call for massive overseas aid was still to be ascertained.

In the Regional coffers there was not enough money to bring about the desired reforms within the short space of time set as a target. The administrative work involved in the change-over and the abolition of the existing system was under-rated. Although so many of the proposed changes centred around the secondary modern schools, a proprietor or headmaster of this kind of school was not included in the membership of the Commission.





The method of selection from the junior secondary school to the senior secondary school was not defined and if this was to be based on some sort of objective tests, there was no indication how these were to be constructed.

One of the most significant omissions in the Commission's recommendations was the question of what could be done for pupils who had completed junior secondary school courses and were looking for jobs. Any scheme of education which did not take into proper consideration the eventual fate of the products of the educational system was bound to run into difficulties. One of the obvious failures of the secondary modern school as constituted in 1962-64 was that they brought into the labour market a large number who were unemployable.

#### Implementing the Banjo Commission's Proposals

The Government of Western Nigeria accepted the spirit and challenge presented by the recommendations of the Banjo Commission. Little time was wasted in taking steps towards their implementation. The proposals for developments in education and in other subjects were embodied in a White Paper<sup>24</sup> which was presented to the Regional Legislature in 1962.

For the primary schools, the main problems were the raising of the standard of teaching and of meeting the capital expenditure for the increasing enrolment which was expected to reach 1.5 million during the 1966-67 year. The sum of £800,000 was therefore allocated to the

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<sup>24</sup> Western Nigeria Development Plan, 1962-68. Sessional Paper No. 8 of 1962 (Ibadan: The Government Printer).





promotion of the primary school building programme during the period 1962-68.<sup>25</sup>

As recommended by the Banjo Commission a much greater sum of L2.3 million was allocated to secondary and sixth form programmes during the same period. In response to the challenge of the state of emergency in teacher training, the biggest allocation, £2.89 million went to this heading.

The sum of £700,000 was set aside for technical and commercial education. This was to be used mainly for building two new trade centres and for the expansion of the existing ones. Thus by 1967, it was hoped that there would be six trade centres and two technical institutes.<sup>26</sup>

The biggest allocation to education was the sum of £5 million for university development during the next five years.<sup>27</sup>

Scholarships, too, were not neglected. One hundred post-secondary and post-graduate scholarships were to be awarded annually in addition to 150 secondary school scholarships. For the promotion of cultural activities under the Yoruba Historical Scheme, a sum of L100,000 was earmarked.

#### The Dike Committee and the Review of the Education System of Eastern Nigeria

##### General Survey of the Educational Scene

In Chapter IX, the progress of education in Eastern Nigeria was

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 41.



TABLE XXVII

## THE EDUCATIONAL LADDER IN THE BANJO PROPOSALS FOR WESTERN NIGERIA

			Age of Entry
Post Graduate			22
3			21
Research			
University 2			
University Year			20
1			19+
1 College of Technology	Sixth		
2 Grade I Teacher Training College		7	18
Form			
1 Technical Institutes		6 Senior Secondary School	17
2 Teacher Training Colleges		5	16
3 Farm Institutes		4	15+
4 Nursing Schools		4	15+
5 Police, Army Forces		3	14
1 Trade Centres		3 Junior Secondary School	13
2 Teacher Training Colleges	Junior Secondary School	2	13
3 Farm Institutes		1	12+
4 Nursing Schools			
5 Police, Army Forces			
Primary School			
6			11
5			10
4 Primary School			9
Unskilled Labour			
3			8
2			7
1			6+
Age of entry into Primary School is 6+			
Junior Secondary School 12+			
Senior Secondary School 15+			
The University 19+			
Classes			





surveyed up to the appointment in 1959, of the Dike Committee to review the educational system of the Region. The Committee's Report was not officially published until 1962, and therefore its recommendations are considered, here, under the post-independence developments.

The Dike Report reviewed the history of the Region's education and in particular surveyed the operation of the Universal Primary Education Scheme which was begun in 1957 and which ran into difficulties right from the beginning. In its findings the Committee pointed out that if the UPE scheme had continued and received the same response, it would have absorbed all the Region's revenue. There was, therefore, a need to establish how much money could be spent on education and how the priorities were to be determined.

In making its recommendations, the Committee bore in mind the future of Nigerian education and on this subject it made a number of observations and comments.

An African education, calls for neither a mirror-like imitation of foreign education or a nativistic rejection of all that has been achieved. No Nigerian seriously concerned with the development of education will reject the lessons of both the intellectual and the material developments in western civilization while helping to build his nation's part in world civilization.<sup>28</sup>

We may describe democracy as a way of social organization or government, in which the maximum numbers and kinds of freedom are preserved, and there is a minimum of interference with these. Democracy is a system of rights, privileges and duties.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Dike Committee Report, p. 20.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.



The participant in a political democracy is a citizen and when one wants citizens one must make them... Jefferson said, "Establish the law for educating the common people." This is the business of the state to effect a general plan.<sup>30</sup>

May it not be said that a felicitous philosophy of education for Nigeria would be one which seeks to achieve the objectives of developing to the maximum the total resources of the individual?...A nation's education system reflects national ideals; it is shaped by purposes of individuals and groups, and in turn, shapes them...<sup>31</sup>

A desirable community was described as one which has a firm economic base and cultural vigour as well as social stability and continuing progress in handling complex inter-relationships among people. "It is one which is free from untoward social tensions, whether they arise from political, economic, religious, racial or ideological causes."<sup>32</sup>

Finally, the Committee discussed the three main functions of the educational system. One is to establish literacy. It must provide for all young boys and young girls an opportunity to learn to read, to write, to calculate, and to learn something about the world in which they live. "Ensuring the absence of illiteracy from the population is the first and necessary stage in a larger plan."<sup>33</sup> Next, the educational system must meet the needs for experts, specialists, professional and technicians of all kinds. Thirdly, the system must provide a balance between the

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 31

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.





establishment of literacy for all and the education of the expert. In other words, the educational system must provide "the youth with the knowledge and habits of thought which they need in order to use wisely the freedom entrusted to them in a democracy, and to reach sound judgment concerning the problems which they will face as men and women, and as citizens."<sup>34</sup>

Above all, Nigeria needs thinkers.<sup>35</sup>

Taking all these views and needs into consideration, the Committee was of the view that the Region should, in the next few years, concentrate on improving the quality of the education rather than increasing the quantity, that parents must be made more aware of what the school is for, and that all should "simply recognise that there is neither the financial support nor the teachers for compulsory, free primary education at this time."<sup>36</sup>

We believe that the key to early and progressive improvement of the educational system of the Region is the taking of decisive steps in secondary education and in the education and training of teachers. If these steps are taken we believe that benefits will flow shortly in various ways: more qualified teachers in the primary schools, more qualified students prepared for higher education, and more adequately equipped boys and girls for whom secondary education is terminal.<sup>37</sup>

On the subject of finance, the Committee took note of the fact

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.





that about 40 per cent of the Region's budget was being spent on education. As this could not be increased significantly, education was bound to advance further at a moderate pace. The Revenue increased by 50 per cent between 1950 and 1960, but expenditures had increased more than 120 per cent. The realization of the educational goal must, therefore, be spread over many years.

In this connection the Committee have taken note of the views expressed in the survey entitled, "the African Revolution" contained in The Economist, of 13th December 1958, and re-emphasized in a letter in the same journal (10th January, 1959) from Professor W. A. Lewis, until recently the Economic Advisor to the Government of Ghana. These authorities consider that, in an agricultural economy, the Government should budget in the first place for no more than 50 per cent of the children to receive primary education and for 4 per cent entries into secondary schools. The Economist expresses the view that education "cannot realistically exceed 20 per cent of the budget however great popular pressure for it may be."<sup>38</sup>

TABLE XXVIII

RECURRENT EXPENDITURE FOR EDUCATION IN NIGERIA, 1958-59  
(Figures in Millions of Pounds)

Budget	A Total Expenditure	B Educational Expenditure	Percentage of B to A
Federal	35	2.1	6
Western	14.8	5.9	39.9
Northern	11.4	2.8	26.3
Eastern	12	4.9	40.9
TOTAL	73.2	15.7	21.4

Source: The above Table was given as Table III in the Dike Committee Report.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 27.



Although the country's total was only a little higher than the maximum suggested by The Economist, both the Eastern and the Western Regions already were spending considerably more than that on education.<sup>39</sup>

The Committee examined the administrative set-up of education in the Region. Its features were a highly centralized service under the control of the Ministry of Education and a complex system of private voluntary agency schools. The Committee pointed out that such a state of affairs, although reflecting the nature of the growth of the education in the Region, could not be expected to satisfy indefinitely the needs of a modern state.

The Committee felt that local government authorities, which came into the educational picture in 1957, should have a bigger part to play in the future. Above all, the provincial units within the Region which had been recently created might be made to handle most of the work which was being undertaken by the then Ministry of Education.

We realise that the new provincial organization is still in its infancy and that further alteration of local government structure may take place, but we believe that the provinces would be large enough to support a fully professional education staff, with the provincial Education Officers acting as the vital link between the Ministry and local Executives.

We accordingly wish to recommend that consideration be given to the possibility of staged delegation of executive powers to new units of administration based on the provinces, with a view to their assumption, when further experience has been gained, of powers similar to those that would be expected in an autonomous Local Education Authority.

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<sup>39</sup>The Eastern Region's spending on education in 1961 rose to L7,449,917, which was about 43 per cent of the budget.





The degree and timing of delegation to these Provincial Education Committees would vary somewhat, according to the state of development of the particular province. It would be desirable for the Provincial Education Officer to act as secretary to the Provincial Education Committee. He would, however, in the first stage, continue to exercise the substantial executive powers delegated by the Ministry, and to be in close touch with all the maintained schools in his area, whether Voluntary or Council. He should also be the channel or authority from the Ministry to the Regional Government schools.<sup>40</sup>

Thus, the whole machinery of the primary and secondary education would come within the powers of the Provincial Education Committees which, in the first instance, would be appointed by the Minister of Education. About one-third of the members would come from the District Councils.

#### The Position of the Voluntary Agencies

Throughout the century of their existence the Voluntary Agencies have dominated the educational scene in this Region, and, as a result, all Eastern Nigerian leaders in Church and State, in business and in education, owe their training in whole, or in part, to missionary enterprise. The Committee found everywhere evidence of the widespread and wholesome influence which the missionaries have exerted throughout the Region...That fact that over 80 per cent of the schools in the Region are owned by the Voluntary Agencies is no accident, it is a testimony to their long sustained and unrelenting efforts to bring education and enlightenment to thousands of Nigerians.<sup>41</sup>

In reviewing the growth of education in the Region, the Committee pointed out that the number of pupils and teachers increased from 388,027 and 14,000 respectively in 1948 to 1,209,169 and 32,094 in 1957. Grants-

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<sup>40</sup>Dike Committee Report, p. 34.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 41.



in-aid to schools during the same period rose from £444,000 to £4,322,049. This was about one-third of the entire revenue of the Government.<sup>42</sup>

The Committee further stated that the Voluntary Agency schools were firmly controlled by the agencies sponsoring them even though they were largely supported from public funds. Owing to inter-denominational rivalry, there was a good deal of waste, duplication and inefficiency. There was, thus, a clear need for the Regional Government to exercise a greater control of the growth of the schools.

In general, the Protestant Missions appeared to support the government scheme of U.P.E., but they were critical of its timing and lack of adequate preparation. It was asserted these Missions would welcome a co-ordinated plan of education provided that its implications were fully worked out in the closest co-operation and consultation with them. Not only careful and detailed planning but also proper timing were necessary for the launching of such a scheme.

The Catholic Church was opposed to state education. The Catholic Church was in control of 50 per cent of the schools and received over £1 million in grants-in-aid. The Catholic Church's views were so strong that "any attempt to introduce radical changes in the existing position may precipitate religious and political strife."<sup>43</sup>

The Local Government Authorities were generally in favour of state control of education.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 44.





The Committee reported that selection into the secondary schools was not standardized and up to 20 per cent of the intake was being weeded out as unsuitable. Nine-tenths of the secondary schools had no Sixth Form classes and most of the schools were either single or double streams concentrating their teaching on the examinable subjects offered in the School Certificate. The Committee observed that:

The present system, quite frankly, is virtually two systems of education, not one. One provides a very good education with recognised objectives for a comparatively small proportion of the child population, chosen on the basis of a combination of ability and the means to pay the fees. The basis of choice may or may not be satisfactory, but does, at any rate, provide a rough and ready means of singling out some of those who will later on become leaders of industry and public service. But it is so selective that it virtually consigns all the rest to an education that is extremely limited in its objectives and is without many of the advantages which the secondary schools enjoy.<sup>44</sup>

Three different points of view were considered in the approach to this problem. One was to say that some are born to lead and others to be led, and, therefore, a power form of education would be necessary. The second view was to follow the line of the provision of equal educational opportunity by making the offerings at the secondary level as diversified as possible, to include technical and commercial schools. To direct children to each of these schools ( some of which might, in the public view, be considered inferior to others), was not considered acceptable. A third view was to offer a four year secondary school course with standards which would be less exacting than the West African School

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 54.





Certificate.

Still another suggestion was a six year primary school course followed by three years in the lower secondary school (ages 12 to 15) and three years of the upper secondary school. With respect to the lower or junior secondary schools, the Committee observed:

Perhaps as many as 75 per cent of the age group might one day attend these schools, and if, at the end, they had had three years of junior secondary school on top of six or seven years of greatly improved basic primary education, they would, we hope, be well equipped and also extremely versatile to fulfil the tasks they would be called upon to undertake out in the world. We would envisage that there would be a leaving examination which would have national standing and recognition.<sup>45</sup>

It was hoped that about 50 per cent of the age group might eventually get to the upper secondary school which would prepare the best of them for the universities and the others for employment.

The plan of secondary education suggested by the Committee was one in which:

1. the Provincial Education Committee would be the unit of administration;
2. the keynote of which would be partnership between the Regional Government, the Voluntary Agencies and the Local Government Authorities;
3. flexibility would provide for variation from province to province.

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<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 55.



## The Education, Training and Status of Teachers

We were struck by the observation of the Nigerian who told us that one measure of the attitude towards teacher training institutions today was that no leader would think of sending his son to such an institution. And yet, we were heartened by the fact that many of the impressive Nigerians who testified before us, whether they were administrative officers, district councillors or professional men, had come to their present positions of leadership in the Region after they had been teachers.<sup>46</sup>

The Committee received numerous representations for the improvement of the teaching profession and it came to the conclusion that "the most desperate need in the educational scene of Eastern Nigeria is better educated teachers."<sup>47</sup>

To remedy the situation, the Committee made the following recommendations:

- (i) the introduction of an intermediate category between Grade I and Graduate teachers;
- (ii) the decrease in the number of teacher training colleges and the substantial increase in the enrolment of the rest;
- (iii) the introduction of the idea of regarding the teacher training institutions as parallel secondary schools: thus, the basic training of a primary school teacher would be three years at the secondary school;
- (iv) the establishment of 20 High Schools for Teachers, each of such schools having triple streams of thirty students in

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 67.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 70.





each stream and offering a three year course of training, which in the third year " would be more oriented to preparing the student to enter the classroom as a teacher."<sup>48</sup>

- (v) bonding and allocation of students to Voluntary Agency and Local Authority Schools;
- (vi) the placing of teachers in the High School for Teachers and the creation of higher posts in other institutions;
- (vii) the appointment of a special Committee to prepare syllabuses and an Advisory Committee to review the programme from time to time;
- (viii) the extension of the courses in the High School for Teachers to four years as soon as possible;
- (ix) a "once for all" certification of teachers who have proved themselves efficient and have attended short term refresher courses successfully;<sup>49</sup>
- (x) an Eastern Regional College for Teachers to be established at Enugu on the premises of the Womens' Training College.

The Committee was doubtful about the wisdom of the idea of establishing a Nigerian Overseas College in the United Kingdom for the express purpose of training teachers.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 72.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>For many years the Malayan Government had maintained such a College in the United Kingdom.



Vocational Guidance, Vocational Training and Technical Training Including Commerce and Agriculture

The Committee recommended:

- (i) that handicraft training facilities be extended;
- (ii) that training in vocational guidance be given to selected education officers;
- (iii) that the Regional Technical Advisory Committee be strengthened;
- (iv) that a Trade Advisory Committee be established;
- (v) that urgent consideration be given (on the initiative of the Federal Government) to the training of teachers for technical subjects;
- (vi) that the position of commercial schools be reviewed and an Inspector be appointed for commercial subjects;
- (vii) that there be room for greater co-operation between the Department of Agriculture and the Ministry of Education and that pre-agricultural courses be established at one or more secondary schools.

The Oldman Commission and Educational Developments in Northern Nigerian Education

Although the Northern Region of Nigeria had no spectacular developments and achievements to report in the field of education below university level, it certainly was not unmindful of the needs and challenge of the future. It was thus in the spirit of cautious optimism that in February, 1961, the North Regional Government invited H. Oldman, Chief





Education Officer in Yorkshire, England, to inquire and to report on the problems of administration and finance in connection with the development of Primary Education in the Region. The exact words of Oldman's terms of reference were:

(a) to advise on the form which the local contribution to the cost of primary education should take;

(b) to advise on whether there would be advantages in delegating control of Primary Education to local Education Authorities and on whether or not such local Education Authorities should have power of precept;

(c) to advise on whether the English system of "aided" and "controlled" schools or the Scottish system of transferred schools or some modification or either, would have relevance to Northern Nigerian conditions;

(d) to advise on any amendments to the Education Law and to the Grants-in-Aid Regulations that might be desirable;

(e) to advise on the future development of the Primary Schools Inspectorate and on the administrative machinery required by Universal Primary Education.<sup>51</sup>

In making public Oldman's terms of reference, the North Regional Minister of Education made the following statement:

The Government of Northern Nigeria has considered the financial and administrative problems that will arise during the Northern Nigeria's progress towards Universal Primary Education and has also wished to ensure that there should, at the same time, be an adequate expenditure of money and effort on that post-secondary education which will provide much needed professional men and women. The Regional Government considers that education can best make progress if there is a partnership between itself on the one hand and the local community on the other, costs being met by a Government contribution and by a smaller local contribution. It also wishes the system of school management and inspection to be

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<sup>51</sup>H. Oldman, The Administration of Primary Education (Kaduna: The Government Printer, 1961), pp. 5-6.





reviewed and, if found wanting, improved.<sup>52</sup>

In Chapter One of the Oldman Report, the progress of education in the Region was reviewed and this is summarized in the following table of enrolment.

TABLE XXIX  
EDUCATIONAL STATISTICS, NORTHERN NIGERIA, 1947-1960

Institutions	Enrolment	Year
Primary Schools	70,893	1947
Primary Schools	280,886	1960
Secondary Schools	5,480	1960
Trained Teachers (output)	156	1949
Trained Teachers (output)	4,114	1960

Source: Oldman Committee Report, p. 10.

The main features of the position of Primary Education in the Region in 1960-61 were:

- (a) the integration in the general administration of the Ministry of Education;
- (b) the recent creation of the post of Senior Inspector of Education;
- (c) the 1960 appeal which the Minister made to visiting teachers urging them to maintain and improve standards in the schools;
- (d) the preparation of a Handbook of Suggestions to Teachers;

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<sup>52</sup>Cited by Oldman, p. 6.



- (e) organization of a continuous seven year primary school course from the age of six to thirteen, thus replacing the old four year Junior Primary and three year Senior Primary classes;
- (f) the establishment of the policy of giving all primary school instruction in English except where the main language was the mother tongue;
- (g) the cancellation of the Assumed Local Contribution as suggested in the Phillipson Formula Grant, which assisted the expansion and simplified arrangements but which increased costs beyond what was estimated;
- (h) the unification of salary scales for teachers in NA and Voluntary Agency schools;
- (i) the transference, in 1960, of the work of Adult Education to the Ministry of Information.

Oldman declared that "It is urgently necessary to establish a working partnership between Government, Native Administration and Voluntary Agencies to develop a public system of Primary Education."<sup>53</sup> The Government was to be the leading partner and the intention "to achieve ultimately Universal Primary Education should be clearly defined and understood by all."<sup>54</sup>

Attention was drawn to the short range educational objectives which were contained in the Ashby Report. The long term objectives,

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.





however, were:

(a) to give every child in the Region the opportunity of making the most of the talent with which he is naturally endowed;

(b) to create a people who will be able to understand, sustain and support the development of the country which the Government, through its trained officers and servants, is trying to carry out.<sup>55</sup>

The short term plan should provide experience for the future and for reappraising the relationship between primary education and other forms of education.

The present arrangements for Administration and Inspection demand immediate review and any new plan must look ahead to a system which can carry greatly increased responsibility. The chief present difficulty is that there is a lack of continuity of interest in any particular area and the system is too diffused in its operation and too divided in its responsibility.<sup>56</sup>

Another finding of Oldman was that the demand for education in the provinces was uneven.

The first stage towards Universal Primary Education had been proposed by Ashby but:

...This should not be regarded as an end in itself, but only as a stage in a wider development. In some areas it is necessary to concentrate on the maintenance of satisfactory numbers through the seven year course in existing primary schools; in others, it is primarily necessary to start in villages where there are none and at the same time to sustain the existing schools.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.



In planning, emphasis should be placed on divisions and districts as well as on provinces. The Inspectorate should explain to the people the value and importance of education. The way the Phillipson Formula operated in Northern Nigeria caused much uncertainty as to the amount of aid which would be available to the providers of schools, Native Administrations and Voluntary Agency schools.

For the future, the Government should be able to prepare short and long term estimates of the cost of education to all partners in the development of primary education. The factors to be taken into consideration in determining current cost should be salaries, estimated cost of furniture, apparatus, books, stationery and materials, building maintenance and cost of administration. An estimated cost per pupil could then be established and Government should make its own estimates of recurrent expenditure for the financial year based on salaries, increases and additions in the number of teachers, number of classes and cost of other items.

The difference between the amount of the forecast of total expenditure for primary education and the amount proposed to be allocated by Government for Primary Education will form the estimated global amount needed from local contributions.

The total sum needed from local contributions should be expressed as an average amount per class, having regard to the number of classes estimated in the forecast. This number should be known as the Average Local Contribution per class.<sup>58</sup>

The proposed scheme assumed that partial grants to schools not fully approved would be discontinued. New schools should not be opened

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 20.





until all concerned could meet the minimum requirements for grants-in-aid.

The Commission found that Voluntary Agencies were playing a big part in the education in the North. "Rather more than 60 per cent of the children at present in Primary schools in the Region are in Voluntary Agency schools."<sup>59</sup>

The Ashby target represents the short term plan for carrying through the first substantial stage of the long term objective; it is all a question of time, money and manpower. I find no evidence for drawing a conclusion from the Ashby Report that the absolute purpose of Primary Education is to find a limited number of persons for higher education and that the growth of Primary Education should stop permanently when the rate of production for these limited numbers has been reached.<sup>60</sup>

Under the Phillipson Formula, grants were automatic, and the checks and balance had been removed. Demand for grant was ever increasing, although an attempt had been made to limit this through capital grant and subjective decisions about buildings and un-assisted schools.

Oldman further pointed out that:

There was, however, a good deal of criticism about the actual methods of paying grants, particularly the grants at the time of the adjustment instalment. Sometimes owing to the lack of any money reserves, the proprietor who has not received any grant by a particular date, is unable to pay the teachers and, on the evidence given to us, teachers are often kept waiting for their money. This cannot be in the best interests of the schools.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 49.





## Northern Nigeria Education After the Oldman Commission

Oldman's recommendations were accepted by the North Regional Government and as a result, a new system for the organization of primary education came into being in 1962. Much of the work of the Ministry of Education devolved on a new Provincial Organization.<sup>62</sup> The latter organization was further subdivided into the Administration and the Inspectorate. The inspection of the schools became the charge of the Provincial Inspector and his staff. The chief executive officer was the Provincial Education Secretary.

A new Handbook for Inspectors was published and the first batch of assistant inspectors--38 of them--were assigned duties. Thus, it would be possible for the provincial inspector to exercise a closer control and supervision than had hitherto been possible.

In 1954 there were seven secondary schools in the Region. This had grown to fifty-five. At the end of 1962, 790 candidates from the Region sat for the West African School Certificate Examination and of this number, 476, or approximately 60 per cent, were successful.

Eight boys' and one girls' secondary schools in the Region in 1961-62 offered Sixth Form work and forty-four candidates from four schools obtained the full Higher School Certificate and qualified for university entrance.

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<sup>62</sup>The following account of post-independence development of Northern Nigeria education was based on a supplement entitled "Education: A Record of Progress," in Sunday Post, March 15th, 1964. Unless otherwise stated, all statistics referred to the year 1963.



As a result of the steady expansion in boarding secondary schools, some thought was being given to the development of day classes. All the existing schools offered boarding accommodation. The possibility of introducing comprehensive schools which would combine grammar, technical and commercial courses was also being considered.

In 1962, over 1,700 qualified from the teacher training colleges, thus almost doubling the output of new teachers for the year 1959. Some 7,600 students were being trained in fifty-four colleges. Progress recorded was both quantitative and qualitative, for, whereas only one-quarter of those who were being trained in 1961 were taking the Grade II certificate, the number had increased to over two-thirds.

Another exciting development in the field of teaching-training was the establishment at Zaria, of the Northern Secondary Teachers' College. In 1964, some 180 students were enrolled at the college to study for the Nigerian Teachers Certificate--the highest teaching qualification below the university level. The 1964 course was a carry-over of the Teachers' Course which was formerly given at the Nigerian College. Still another kind of teacher training was being planned for Kano under the auspices of the Ohio University and the United States Government.

All the crafts given in the Government Technical Training Schools were being redesigned so as to prepare the students, during a three year course, for the more widely recognized examinations of the City and Guilds of the London Institute. The first of the redesigned courses began in the Bukuru Trade Centre in 1962 and at the Kano Trade Centre in 1963. The Ilorin Trade Centre did the same in 1964. The general education given at





the schools was also being revised to raise the standards of English, Mathematics and Science.

At the Kaduna Technical Institute, the courses for Assistant Technical Officers were redesigned to meet the syllabus requirements for the Ordinary City and Guilds Certificate in mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, building and civil engineering.

In addition to developments in the institutions in the Region, a number of scholarships were given to enable students to undertake more advanced studies abroad.

Also being planned was a Polytechnic at Kaduna. In this regard,

In the future, it is hoped to co-ordinate general and technical education more closely so that leavers from Government Crafts Schools will have the opportunity of entering technical, commercial and comprehensive secondary schools.<sup>63</sup>

Women's education which had always lagged behind was given more attention. Two new women's teacher training colleges were opened at Katsina and Maiduguri and a new one was being planned for Minna in 1965. Co-education was also making headway in the Government institutions. The Northern Secondary Teachers' College was open to women and so was the Ilorin Teacher Training College.

A number of voluntary agencies decided to replace their girls' senior primary schools with secondary schools. There were a number of these schools in Kabba, Ilorin and Adamawa provinces.

The Government adopted a scheme aimed at raising the standards of

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid.



Islamic education in the Region and in pursuance of this policy, the Islamiyya Society was allowed to open grant-aided schools in 1962. A new college for the training of teachers in Islamic and Arabic Studies was opened at Sokoto and plans were afoot to establish a Grade II college at Katsina for Arabic teachers.

The Government also made visits to three Muslim countries in Africa to study methods and organization of Koranic and Islamic schools. Teachers from other countries, particularly from the Bakt-er-Ruda College in the Sudan were being encouraged to enter the teaching profession of the Region.



PART FIVE  
REVIEW AND PREVIEW





## CHAPTER XIV

### A COMPARATIVE REVIEW OF AIMS AND FUNCTIONS IN NIGERIAN EDUCATION, 1842-1962

#### Part One - Period of the Pioneer Missionary Educators, 1842-1912

At the time of writing the existing educational system in Nigeria was largely the by-product of the attempts which the Christian missionaries began to make during the last decade of the first half of the nineteenth century with the principal object of converting the indigenous peoples to Christianity and 'a Christian way of life.' It was generally recognized and expressed from time to time that the objectives could not be attained without some form of education. Education was required to establish communication between the proselytizers and the subjects of conversion. Education was also seen as a leavening agent, whereby those who were taught could be used for the conversion of others.

The position of the mission agencies as a foreign influence was complicated by two other external factors. These were the foreign traders and the British administrative officers. The three were frequently associated and often indistinguishable to the local people. The traders demanded native agents who could read, write and calculate and the mission schools taught reading, writing and arithmetic. The British administrators wanted interpreters and clerks. This further enhanced the value of a literary education. For the work of evangelization itself, ability to read the Bible was considered enough and so the curriculum of the early schools remained narrow in scope and objective.



As trade and the power of the British administration grew, the material advantages which could be secured from going to school began to outweigh (in the eyes of many of the young people) the spiritual values and promises held out by the new religion. Schools were seen more and more as an outlet and escape from the bare and insecure existence of peasant farming to the greater security and prestige of a salaried worker in the employ of the British Administration or trading firm or even as an auxiliary worker in the Church. As the missionaries usually stipulated complete severance from the old tribal way of life and loyalties, those who had been educated in the mission schools usually freed themselves from the restraints and often quite heavy obligations which the tribal life imposed on all its members. The inevitable result of this was a decay in the traditional way of life. And as it was often the case, the European way of life which was eagerly copied was usually misunderstood. Often only the mere veneers and the least desirable aspects of European culture provided the most eye-catching and tempting glitter.

For nearly half a century, all the western education available was given in mission schools and the British administrations in the various parts of the country made little or no contribution. This might be due partly to the fact that there was little money to spare and partly due to the uncertainty of the British Government's intentions on the West Coast of Africa. It might also be due in part to the eagerness of the missionary agencies to take the matter of native education into their own hands. Besides, public opinion in Britain was only slowly coming round to the view that public education was a state matter.





Although the aims of the missionaries in both the Southern and Northern parts of Nigeria were identical, their activities in the two areas have not produced identical results. While the Missions on the whole had been eagerly welcomed to operate in all parts of the South, their movements and scale of enterprise were at first resisted and then severely curtailed in the North. The official explanation for this difference in treatment was that the Moslem North did not view with favour the imposition of a foreign religion and that the British administration had made treaties and pledges which guaranteed to the Emirs and the people of Northern Nigeria, freedom from outside interference in religious matters. This explanation has been examined and found irreconcilable with Lugard's public announcement at Sokoto in 1903. Of the other explanations so far advanced, the most plausible was that Lugard was convinced that the introduction of western education into the North might upset his well calculated scheme of Indirect Rule. The Indirect Rule was based on the assumption that the traditional order would continue to be recognized and accepted. Islam demanded from its adherents 'complete submission to the Will of Allah.' This was usually interpreted by the Emirs as their own will and orders. Indirect Rule sought to replace the will of the traditional rulers with the directives of the British Administration.

Already, Lugard had seen that western education tended to encourage a boldness to question the status quo and an assumption on the part of the young people who had been educated in the schools, that the establishment of foreign rule was a violation of democratic principles and the rights



of Man. There was, thus, a deliberate attempt by the Government to keep the disquieting influences of western education from the predominantly Moslem North.

There was, of course, a recognition that even in the North some form of education was necessary. To solve this problem the earliest educational effort on the part of the Government was aimed at training the sons of Emirs and Chiefs and of the Mallams who were to hold posts in the Administration. Such a policy retarded the educational growth of the North because the number who could benefit was very limited.

When the Missions were given permission to make a cautious entry into the region, most of their activities were concentrated in the so-called pagan areas in Niger, Zaria, Bauchi and Kabba Provinces. As these were the more southerly provinces in the North, they had had longer and much closer contact with influences from the South. Consequently, these parts have tended to include a much larger number of professed Christians, many more schools and a bigger proportion of Northerners with formal education.

#### Part Two - The Period of Increased Government Participation and Control, 1913-1940

During the first decade of this century, the first Education Departments were established in both the Southern and Northern Protectorates. After the administrative amalgamation had taken place in 1914, an attempt was made to formulate a common educational policy in both parts of the country.

Three main principles exercised the mind of Lugard who was the





moving spirit behind the educational policy. These were, (i) the need for control of the growth of educational provisions of the voluntary agencies, (ii) the need to achieve better standards of discipline, self-control and integrity, and (iii) the need to produce the functionaries which the business of state, commerce and the Missions required.

Lugard's policy with regard to education was thus partly an attempt to counteract the dysfunctions which western education seemed to have produced in Southern Nigeria and to prevent a possible spread into the North. Lugard's policy of control was carried on by his successors but it was largely an unsuccessful policy.

The poor quality of the schools was blamed on the lack of adequately trained teachers but the Government took no steps to redress this imbalance. There was no Government teacher training institution until 1921 and none of the Missions' teacher training colleges were given any grant-in-aid before 1915. The Government desired to control the education yet it was not even able to employ enough inspectors to make the supervision effective.

It arbitrarily proposed three kinds of education--literary, technical and manual. There was no indication that any but the literary was given encouragement and there were few people, who, if they had the opportunity of change, would have preferred to live their own village life and thus be satisfied with a rural education.

Government control before 1926 failed because there was not an acceptable alternative for the Missions who were under constant pressure to open schools and provide teachers. After the 1926 Code, the number





of the assisted schools increased and the number of the unassisted schools declined somewhat. There is, however, little comfort which can be taken from this since statistics and records were poorly kept.

The Government's inability to provide the necessary funds for the development of education created a near chaotic condition in the 1930's. The large number of badly educated, unemployed and unemployable rose considerably in the thirties, giving rise to the vociferous expression of grievances against the Government. The production of a dissatisfied and articulate minority was another latent function performed by the educational system.

From the missionary point of view, there was a significant change in the attitude to aims of African education. The Edinburgh Conference of 1910 had marked the beginning of a greater awareness that all was not well on the mission field. The more rapid advance which Islam had made in Africa with relatively no organized effort and the fact that tribal life was breaking down under the combined impact of the Missions and western influences made the missionary agencies take second thought about their aims and methods employed in the prosecution of those aims. The successive conferences confirmed that there was no change in the primary objective--evangelization--but there was no complete agreement as to how this could be best achieved.

The churches criticized one another for, (i) neglect or intolerance of the traditional African culture as a basis for mission education, (ii) inter-denominational rivalry which tended to cloud the import of the message of the Gospel, (iii) too obvious use of the schools as a vehicle



of proselytizing, (iv) neglect of the other purposes of a well-rounded education.

No immediate improvements seemed to have resulted from the heart-searching of this period, but at least there was awareness of the urgency of the need for change and adaptation.

As educational agencies, the Missions had come to accept their role as a partner in the educational enterprise. Although they still provided almost all the education they were aware of the developments which could reduce them to the status of junior partner in the educational enterprise.

### Part Three - Education for Self-Government, 1941-1960

The Second World War was the greatest single factor not only in the educational development of Nigeria, but also in the general awakening of nationalistic spirit which hitherto had been largely confined to small educated groups in the big towns of Southern Nigeria. The War years and the withdrawal of the expatriate personnel from the country revealed the inadequacies of the educational system, but particularly with regard to technical needs and high-level manpower.

To an extent not known before, the eyes of thousands of Nigerians were becoming open to problems and issues in the outside world. The War had everywhere made current the subject of colonialism and freedom from oppression. The Nigerian soldiers went to India, Burma, East and North Africa to fight for the freedom which they did not enjoy at home. The political leaders were impatient for constitutional reforms. As one





Constitution was superseded by another, so did the first cautious demand for improvements in the quality and quantity in education assume a more imperative tone. Nigerians demanded emphatically a greater and more responsible role in the administration of Nigerian affairs. It was in order to meet this demand that a Commission was appointed by the Governor in 1948 to make recommendations about the recruitment and training of Nigerians for Senior Posts in the Government Service of Nigeria. In its Report, the Commission, while pointing out that there was a limiting factor in the number that were available, or capable of the training required, nevertheless conceded that:

The training and recruitment of Nigerians for senior posts in the Government Service is not only necessary to take an increasing share in the management of their own affairs and to allow the Service to keep in step with the pace of constitutional advance; it is also essential for the development and progress of the country.<sup>1</sup>

More scholarships and more posts were recommended, but each concession only served to produce an even greater demand and by the beginning of 1950, Nigerians were demanding the type of education which would prepare Nigerians adequately for the self-government which the most hopeful saw coming in the very near future. The literary character of the education was denounced and Fagbure was making no more than a responsible protest when he wrote, in 1950:

The indifference of the Nigerian Government towards technical education for ambitious youths is evidenced by the fact

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Commission Appointed by His Excellency, the Governor, to make recommendations about the recruitment and training of Nigerians for Senior Posts in the Government Service of Nigeria. (Lagos: The Government Printer, 1948), p.1.



that all of Government Scholarships awarded in recent years (over 200 by now), courses in mechanical engineering, aviation, shipping, geological survey, mineralogy, pharmacology, architecture, etc., have been either mistakenly or deliberately omitted. Instead only scholarships for general education, which will make Nigeria indefinitely dependent on other countries, were awarded to Nigerian students. This is why the questions become so universal throughout the country, "Is this the training for self-government which our British overlords proclaim from the housetops?"<sup>2</sup>

In the same year, the Harlow and Thorp Committee reported on the state of technical education in the country and made recommendations out of which the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology, eventually emerged. Meanwhile, the Macpherson Constitution of 1951 had brought the prospects of self-government several steps nearer. The introduction of regional control of education below university level introduced also the factor of rivalry between the political parties vying for the votes of the electorate.

In fulfilment of election promises made as early as 1952, the West Regional Government introduced Universal Free Primary Education in 1955 and a new system of secondary modern schools to absorb the products of the new primary schools. To make the scheme a success, the teacher-training programme was given a greater boost. The new schools were built but the introduction of free primary education made necessary the employment of a large number of untrained teachers. This, coupled with the inadequacy of equipment in the schools, the automatic promotion from one grade to another, and the enrolment of under age children (in order

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<sup>2</sup>G. A. Fabure, "Anomalies in Nigeria's Education System," African World. Feb. 1950, p. 16.





to secure the benefits of free primary education sooner), all contributed to a lowering of the standards in the schools and this, in turn, threw a greater burden of remedial work on the secondary schools. For these, many critics denounced the inability of the Western Governments to carry out what was and has remained, the boldest educational venture ever to be undertaken by a Regional Government.

Another latent function of the scheme was to further lower the prestige of the teaching profession since all sorts and conditions of people found themselves as teachers under the scheme.

The East Regional Government rose to the challenge of the Western Government by announcing its own scheme of universal primary education, as well as its intention to build a new university which should be dedicated to the idea of service and to supplement the offerings and output of the university College, Ibadan. The University of Nigeria appears to have done invaluable service by bringing into the country this new idea of higher education. It is not too much to claim that the rapid expansion which took place at Ibadan owed something to the stimulus and challenge provided by the new institution in the East. And it may be further argued that the West Regional Government's decision to build its own university was in part motivated by a wish not to be out-done by the East.

The Eastern Government's Universal Primary Education Scheme, which was put into operation in 1957, ran into difficulties almost right from the beginning. The Eastern Region, because of its weaker economic posi-





tion was in no condition to operate such an expensive scheme. Although this was probably realized by the financial experts in the Government, it would have been politically inexpedient to admit this until the scheme had at least made a start. Although severe modifications had to be made to the original proposals, it was, nevertheless, a laudable attempt which demonstrated the extent to which courage and faith could make up for what might be termed egg-headed planning.

The experiment may be termed an "eye-opener". With the improved conditions of the Region's economy through the production of crude oil, there is reason to suppose that a more successful scheme may be worked out in the near future.

While the other Regions seemed always ready to gallop into new educational experiments, the North, because of its much more restricted development in the past, has proceeded at a much more cautious pace. While the other regions were busy expanding their primary school programme the North was concentrating most of its development in the secondary school and teacher training. In 1948, there was only one Government secondary school in the Region and one girls' secondary school run by the Catholic Church. During the 1950's a scheme was launched to develop the best of the Middle Schools, first into junior secondary and later into full secondary schools. The seven schools of 1954 had been increased to fifty-five in 1962. Most of these schools were better staffed and better equipped than similar schools in the East and West.

Like the other regions, a universal primary education scheme was the ultimate goal, but the Region put its efforts into the training of



the teachers who would man the schools when the scheme was launched.

This period of education for self-government saw a modification in the methods of Mission education. As independence day approached, and as the Governments increased their share of costs of education until they virtually bore the entire cost, so had the control passed more and more into their hands. Although most of the schools in 1961 were still run by the Missions, the number of Government, local authority and private schools had increased rapidly and there was a good deal of talk about a state system of education, free of Mission control.

#### Part Four - Education for Nationhood, 1960-1962

##### The Future of the Church in Nigerian Education

The Church so far has played a leading part in education in Nigeria and other emergent nations of Africa but the Church has also been thinking of the time when it might not be a major agency of secular education. Evidence to support this trend of thought is furnished by the report of The All Africa Churches Conference on Christian Education in a Changing Africa, which was held at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, from 29th December, 1962 to January 10th, 1963.<sup>3</sup>

The Conference recognized that the Christian concern for education was at two levels. One was the level at which the Christian was called to be a neighbour to his brother and minister to his needs including the need to feed the hungry mind and imagination. As disciples of Christ,

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<sup>3</sup>The Roman Catholic Church sent an observer to this Conference.





they were enjoined to see that people are not denied the opportunity to enter life fully and creatively.

This is an age expanding knowledge and "opportunity through education in which God is opening new doors to knowledge, creativity and service."<sup>4</sup>

The second level of Christian concern was that in which education was considered as immediate a main concern of the Church as that of 'the saving of souls.' In support of this the Conference declared that:

Man is a complete organism which cannot be divided, nor can his experience be separated out into different water-tight compartments. The opening of the mind and imagination to all the wonders around, the experience of loving relationships, the discovery of one's powers to create and enjoy and choose-- these are all part of the awakening of a human being towards God. Thus even where the Church is forbidden by the state to teach the Gospel in schools, Christians in secular education can still foster the growth of persons towards God.<sup>5</sup>

It was further made clear that the primary duty was to teach as persons and that the greatest goal was not to imprint the badge of a particular sect or denomination, but to enable people to meet in Christ. The Christian teacher was reminded that "persons cannot be educated into conversion."<sup>6</sup> All that could and should be done was to open their

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<sup>4</sup>Christian Education in Africa. The Report of the All African Churches Conference on Christian Education in a Changing Africa, 29th December, 1962 to 10th January, 1963 (London: Oxford University Press for All Africa Churches Conference, 1963), p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.



eyes and ears to God "who is continually seeking them in all their experience; we cannot control their responses to Him and when they come face to face with God, they must make their own decisions."<sup>7</sup>

This attitude, indeed, represented a radical shift away from the early days when the salvation of the heathen soul was the only and primary object of the Missions' efforts. It represented an attitude which was alive to the realities of changing world situation and the acceptance of the fact that the great religions of the world should live together by accommodation and that militant religious crusades do not go with the spirit of the age. The attitude of condescension and self-sacrifice which had brought the missionaries to the un-explored reaches of the African continent. This, at any rate, was the present stand of the Protestant Missions.' The Catholic Church, as in Eastern Nigeria, was less willing to bow to the secular control of education, but there seemed no permanent alternative in a country which sought a unified system of education and in which only the small minority professed the Christian faith.

The history of the Christian Missions' participation in Nigerian education has reflected the shift of power. First, there was the period of virtual monopoly, followed by a period of increasing Government participation and control. The third period of education for self-government was marked by a much accelerated tempo in development featuring the growth of secular schools under the control of local communities. Many

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid.





Missions co-operated to bring about the growth of local authority schools.

In the 1940's some church training colleges began to admit a quota of students designated for non-Church schools, and at least one church Synod passed a self-denying ordinance that, if a local authority asked for one of its teachers, particularly as headmaster, however important he might be to the Church, if that teacher were willing to be seconded or transferred, the request would always be granted.<sup>8</sup>

Still, a few years later on, when the Ministries of Education were established to push development to the stage of self-government,

...The increasing tendency was to inform Heads of Churches of policy when it had been decided rather than to invite their help in making it, or at the least to comment on proposals which might suddenly affect the balanced Church-State relationships on which the national system still depended.<sup>9</sup>

It was the breath-taking developments in all African countries since the Second World War which led to the planning of the All Africa Church Conference of 1962-63. The purpose of the conference was to review the aims and principles of Christian Education in a Changing Africa.

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 28.





### The Government Aims for the Future

Nigeria's achievement of self-government on October 1st, 1960, brought into sharp focus the need for a clearly thought out and clearly expressed philosophy of Nigerian education. The West Regional Government put the case in the introduction to the Report of the Banjo Commission.

Our attainment of the status of national independence has brought us to a very important milestone in our forward march as a people and the system of education suitable for us as a colonial people is no longer suitable for those who are masters in their own homes.<sup>10</sup>

The clear rejection of the educational system imposed on the country was to be expected. Colonial education had been aimed primarily at exploitation of the country for the benefit of the imperial power. The need for the progressive development of the country was secondary until after the Second World War when the self-government issue became more than an academic question.

The hallmark of the old educational system apart from the literary quality, was its close identification with the standards in Britain. One of the most frequent criticism levelled at the University College, Ibadan, was that it was too close a copy of the British system. In the colonial period the British standards were held up as the highest in the world and those who had been trained in other countries, particularly in the United States, were accorded shoddy

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<sup>10</sup>Banjo Commission Report, p. vii.



States, were accorded shoddy treatment and scanty esteem.

The approach of independence led to a change of attitude. The whole world was being increasingly regarded as one shopping ground from which Nigeria must choose freely its own standards and needs.

The approach to education for nationhood only differed from the approaches in the earlier periods in terms of suitability, it was vastly different in the scale of conception and the speed at which programmes were to be implemented. The keynote to the future was admirably struck by the Banjo Commission in the following words:

If the Government had waited for ideal conditions to arise before taking action, they would have waited too long. The finnick planning and the over-cautious attitude of the old Colonial Government in launching programmes of development could not be imitated by a nation wishing to telescope historical events enacted elsewhere in a thousand years, into a few decades.<sup>11</sup>

The same mood was clearly reflected in the Federal Government's amendments to the recommendations of the Ashby Commission. It should be noted that the Commission had described its own proposals as "massive, expensive and unconventional."<sup>12</sup> It was one which, in the Commission's opinion, could not be achieved without outside help even if the Nigerians had to forego every penny required elsewhere. This warning was sombre enough to scare any but the stoutest hearts, yet, when the Federal Government examined the proposals, it came to the conclusion that it was not

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 30

<sup>12</sup>Investment in Education, p. 3.





massive enough. Almost all the targets which Ashby had aimed at by 1970 were increased, and most were doubled. The Commission had estimated that the initial cost of the new universities might be up to £20 million and that the cost of the other programmes might cost between £15 and £20 million by 1970. The Nigerian Federal Government in its own estimates reckoned that some £75 million might be needed with recurrent expenditure amounting to as much. At what point did reason flee and reckless planning and sheer intemperance begin? The Ashby recommendations are stupendous by the standards of any nation in Africa and to call for a doubling of the effort it required seemed to court obvious failure. Yet, although this was not clear to the Federal Government at the time, the amended proposals were more realistic in terms of the future needs of the country.

The Ashby recommendations had been based on estimated needs and developments up to 1980. It planned for Nigeria the manpower needs for an estimated population of fifty million by 1980. Little did anyone realize, least of all the Federal Government, that already the country's population had exceeded the 1980 figure. It now seems more probable that by 1980 Nigeria will have a population of at least eighty million. If the Ashby's far seeing recommendations had been adhered to, it could not meet the country's needs and sustain development at a rate at least equal to that of the years immediately preceding independence.

A large part of the post-independence development programme has been based on the assumption that Nigeria would receive a substantial amount of foreign aid. Accordingly, the Nigerian Federal Government has made



urgent appeals for aid in connection with the six--year development plan (1962-1968).

The biggest offer of aid up till the time of writing (April 1965), was a \$80,000,000 loan from the United States. As the development programme was estimated to cost about £600,000,000 (about 2 billion dollars) it would appear that Nigeria was over-sanguine in the estimate of the amount of help likely to come from abroad.

If the development programme was to stand a good chance of success, a sustained effort must be made to generate most of the capital required from within the country itself.

### Educational Aims and the Social Class Structure

This chapter has been devoted primarily to a consideration of past aims and functions in Nigerian education. As a conclusion to it, a general summary of the effects of educational aims on the structure of Nigerian society, would be appropriate.

There have been but few definitive statements on the topic of educational aims and the social class structure in Nigeria. There are, however, in this study, enough general and indirect references to justify the consideration of the subject particularly from the stand point of the main educational agencies--the Missions and the Government.

From the Missions' point of view, it may be asserted that the Christian Gospel has taken a clear stand. In Christ there are no social class barriers, no distinctions between the Jew and Gentile, between the prince and the pauper, or as between the bonded and the free. The





adherence to this attitude by the early Christian communities in Nigeria produced educationally significant consequences. At Calabar and Badagry, the socially disadvantaged groups--the slaves, the outcasts and the personal servants--were among the first converts. The converts were set apart in mission compounds and 'reductions' because the traditional environment was considered pagan and unsatisfactory.

By this very act of physical separation, however, the missions were consciously breaking down one set of barriers, to construct, almost unwittingly, another set. By the beginning of this century, the social attitudes of the mission educated youth were beginning to provoke unfavourable comments. The complaints voiced by the Rev. J.C.R. Wilson in 1905, the indignant outburst of the Hon. Sapara Williams in 1914 and the equally critical comments of Henry Carr and the Secretary of State were indications that latent functions were being performed because the educated young people (mainly mission--trained) were affecting social superiority and were impatient of control.<sup>13</sup>

Lugard's policy of placing severe restrictions on the educational development of Northern Nigeria and of seeking to insulate Northern youths from outside influences could be interpreted in two ways. One way would be to regard his policy as an attempt to prevent the spread of undesirable effects which western education seemed to have produced in the Southern Provinces. The other view is to interpret his policy

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<sup>13</sup>See p. 28 for reference to the complaints.





as an attempt to maintain the status quo. Education was more likely to reduce the social distance between the Emirs and their subjects. The consequent reduction of the power and influence of the Emirs might have made the Indirect Rule system more difficult to operate. Further research is needed, however, before the more plausible interpretation can be ascertained.

Between the two World Wars, there was some evidence that education was producing a small group of Nigerians who expected and did receive from the Government, a greater degree of respect and consideration. Between 1923 (when the first Nigerian Legislative Council was established) and 1946 (when the first Nigerian Constitution was drawn up), a few Africans were elected or appointed to the Council. Coleman pointed out that,

All the elected and appointed African members came from the educated class (five clergymen, six lawyers, one journalist, one wealthy trader, and one district chief from the Cameroons).<sup>14</sup>

Northern Nigeria was not even represented on the Council.

One British official serving in Nigeria in the year 1936, expressed his alarm at the growing power and influence of the educated minority in the following words:

Not only is the literate class a tiny fraction of the Nigerian population, and unrepresentative of the interests of the Nigerian population as a whole, but their bluff can be called easily now. But give a continuation of the policy ...that now exists and insist on the same attention to their

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<sup>14</sup>Coleman, p. 150.



demands and cries for another decade or two and the Government will find that it has, like Frankenstein, raised up a monster which will consume it.<sup>15</sup>

The end of the Second World War seemed to have brought a liberalizing trend with regard to the social aspirations of the well-educated Nigerians. They began to show more concern for the general educational development of the country as a whole. There was also an increasing tendency, still mostly unexpressed in categorical statements, to regard education as a levelling agent rather than a promoter of class distinction and social stratification. The advantages of a good education were being sought for all.

The 1947 Memorandum on Educational Policy in Nigeria expressed the need to fill the gap between the professional and clerical class and the semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Later, Dr. Skapski of the International Co-operation Administration of the (U.S.A.), pointed out to the Banjo Commission "Nigeria's need of a middle class, built up largely by skilled workers who set up business of their own."<sup>16</sup>

What is perhaps the most forthright statement on the subject of educational aims and social structure was contained in an address delivered by Dr. Azikiwe at the inaugural convocation of the University of Nigeria in October, 1960. Dr. Azikiwe made it clear that it was the aim of the University to act as a levelling agent and to minimize social class distinctions. He deplored the existing preoccupation with white collar

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<sup>15</sup>Cited by Coleman, p. 153.

<sup>16</sup>Banjo Commission Report, p.30





jobs. He expressed the wish to raise the status of basic occupations and productive vocations in Nigerian society.

Recommendations made from 1959 to 1961 with regard to primary and secondary education also appeared to reinforce the tendency towards a more egalitarian system of education. The Banjo Commission recommended the transformation of the low-prestige secondary modern schools into junior secondary schools which will take in all the pupils from the primary schools. Future selections into the grammar schools (to be renamed senior secondary schools) would then take place at the age of fifteen instead of at ten, eleven or twelve. This would give late developers a better opportunity and discourage the tendency to seek early admission into the grammar school irrespective of a pupil's ability and interests. This would also lessen the selective nature of grammar schools.

The Dike Committee made similar recommendations. It commented on the existing system which gave a very good education to a small minority and consigned the majority of the child population to an inferior education with extremely limited objectives.<sup>17</sup> The comment amounted to a condemnation of the stratifying effect of Nigerian education. The Committee recommended the establishment of lower secondary schools which would provide a broader base for selection into the upper secondary schools and also give a better preparation for those intending to enter into vocational training.

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<sup>17</sup>See p. 313.



In the Northern Region where the pace of educational development was slower, the Government expressed the determination to provide greater educational opportunities. The Oldman Commission regarded the Ashby targets for the Region as a temporary objective only. The Federal Government has also backed up an accelerated pace of educational development in the North by affirming that the country as a whole would help the Region so that at least half of its children would be in school by 1970.

The inference to be drawn from these proposed reforms is that those who plan for the development of Nigeria have envisaged a future in which education would be available to all so that the lack of it would not serve as a basis for the establishment of social stratification.

At the time of writing (April, 1965), it is too early to evaluate the functions which will be performed through the prosecution of these aims. There was already in existence a small group of well educated leaders who could be regarded as the elite. If the doors of educational opportunities were opened without socially selective restrictions, it should be possible to avoid a wide social gap between one group of workers and another. The extent to which this can be achieved will depend very much on the sincerity and dedication of the leaders entrusted with the translation of the visions of Ashby, Banjo, Oldman and Dike into practical realities.



## CHAPTER XV

### THE PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

#### The Foundations of Education

In the preceding chapters, an attempt was made to survey the changes in aims and functions that have taken place in Nigerian education between 1842 and 1962. In this concluding chapter an attempt will be made to examine existing and future problems and possibilities in Nigerian education in the light of past aims and functions.

The proper execution of Nigeria's plans for the future calls for the establishment of a national system of education whose organization and operation would be geared to meet adequately the diverse needs of a rapidly developing country. Such an educational system must be built on sound theoretical foundations and the whole structure must be practical in orientation.

An adequate educational system may be likened to an edifice consisting of two parts--the foundation and the super-structure. Ideally, the edifice should combine a pleasing appearance with a very functional design. A solid foundation is absolutely essential. In education five areas of studies can be identified as foundation fields. These are the fields of philosophy, history, sociology, psychology and comparative education.

The super-structure of an educational system can be designed in various styles but whatever the style, its strength is dependent on the





qualities of its foundational elements. The elements themselves stand in special relationships with one another. One writer referred to the element of philosophy as the 'intellectual cement' and history, sociology and psychology as the "sand and gravel which are used in constructing the foundation of a house."<sup>1</sup>

### Philosophy of Education

The present writer, while adopting the imagery of the house or edifice, prefers to assign somewhat different attributes to the various foundational elements. Philosophy, he regards as the basic and most strategic element in the whole structure. It is in philosophical concepts and ideas that the basic attitudes and values which operate in a particular society are reflected. It may therefore be regarded as the spring source of educational theory and practice. History, sociology, psychology and comparative education are the elements which must be compounded to achieve the successful operation of a sound philosophy of education.

At this point it is convenient to define more exactly the four other foundation fields in relation to Nigerian education. A more detailed consideration of the philosophical basis will be deferred to the latter part of this chapter.

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<sup>1</sup>B. Y. Card, 'The Foundation Fields in Teacher Education, ATA Magazine, XXXX, February, 1951, p. 19.  
Card did not include Comparative Education among the foundation fields.



### History of Education

To plan wisely and adequately for the future it is necessary to record accurately and interpret as objectively as possible, the past. The saying that "those who neglect the study of history are doomed to repeat its mistakes," if not accepted literally can at least be regarded as a useful reminder that in any human situation, what is to come after cannot be completely dissociated from what has gone before. The importance of the historical background in education is admirably expressed by Kandel in the following words:

In order to understand, appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the educational system of a nation, it is essential to know something of its history and traditions; of the forces and attitudes governing the social organization, and of the historical and economic conditions that determine its development.<sup>2</sup>

In the Nigerian context, no educational system can be accepted as rational which does not take into consideration the African environment, the historical past especially with regard to the operation of external influences such as the missionary societies and the establishment of British rule. The educational system developed largely as a by-product of missionary enterprise and it was British rule which brought about the forcible amalgamation of different tribes into one political unit. These and other factors are important for the country's political, social and

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<sup>2</sup>I. L. Kandel, Comparative Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933), p. xix.





economic welfare--goals to which education must be directed.

### Sociology of Education

Sociology of education is that field of knowledge which concerns itself with "the scientific analysis of the social processes and social patterns involved in the educational system."<sup>3</sup> Some of the important topics in this field are the human relations within the school (teachers, pupils, administrators) and their effect on the learning situation; the impact of the school on the behaviour and personality of its members and the impact of the school on the community; and the choice of teaching as a career and profession.

In the Nigerian context, it is important to know what kind of relations exist in the school and in the classroom where the teachers and pupils come from different tribal groups, how the village school is regarded by the community, what part formal education plays in promoting or breaking down social class barriers and social stratification.

### Educational Psychology

Psychology is described as the "science of behaviour and experience"<sup>4</sup> and the branches of that field which concern the educator most, are those which centre upon "the nature of learning, the growth of the human

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<sup>3</sup>W. B. Brookover and D. Gottlieb, A Sociology of Education, (New York: American Book Company, 1964), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>E. A. Peel, The Psychological Basis of Education (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1956), p. 4.



personality, the differences between individuals and, lastly, the study of the person in relation to society."<sup>5</sup>

Again, turning to the Nigerian situation, one cannot rationally decide the philosophical issues of who should be educated and what kind of education should be given without first considering the ability a person has or is capable of developing. Also no final decision can be taken on this without considering what will be in the best interest of the society as a whole.

### Comparative Education

The study of Comparative Education is defined as:

A systematic examination of other cultures and other systems of education deriving from these cultures in order to discover resemblances and differences, the causes behind resemblances and differences, and why variant solutions have been attempted (and with what results) to problems that are often common to all.<sup>6</sup>

The relevance of this field of knowledge to the Nigerian education is easy to appreciate. There are many young nations in Asia and Africa whose problems and backgrounds are similar to those of Nigeria. It is important, for example, that those who will be responsible for planning Nigerian education should know something about how India and Ceylon are attempting to solve the language problem and to find out whether lessons

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Vernon Mallinson, An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Education (London: William Heinemann Ltd.,). p. 10.





could be learned from their success and failures. The Japanese have transformed their country into a great industrial power in a very short time. It is important to understand what part the educational system has played in this transformation. Nigeria can learn from the methods of the Japanese. Similarly, both the United States and Canada have broken new grounds in higher education. Their experiences may have relevance to the Nigerian problem with regard to the high-level manpower needs.

These are some of the questions which Comparative Education pose and attempt to answer. Nigeria must learn wisely from the problems and situations in other societies, if as in the words of the Banjo Commission, the country is determined "to telescope the historical events enacted elsewhere in a thousand years, into a few decades."<sup>7</sup>

All these foundation fields are closely related and lend support to one another. If the educational aims tend to come from philosophy, it is equally true that the society shapes the kind of philosophical ideas which are expressed. The currency or otherwise of the ideas themselves can depend, and often does, on influences from other societies.

#### A Practical Orientation in Education

An educational system must have more than a sound theoretical basis. Its outlook must also be oriented towards the achievement of long and short range practical objectives. It must, for example, be directed towards such goals as,

- (a) preparing the citizens for the operation of an effective

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<sup>7</sup>Banjo Commission Report, p. 30.





- political system;
- (b) promoting the economic and social welfare of the individual and the society at large;
- (c) providing the kernel of flexibility and adaptability necessary to ensure the continuity, growth and change of the cultural heritage.

In other words, an educational system to be effective and adequate must provide answers to such basic questions as:

Who is to be educated?

What type of education is to be given?

What methods are to be employed in education?

Who is to control education?

How is the educational system to be organized?

How are the special problems of education to be met?

These and similar questions are prompted by assumptions which arise in the foundation elements. An attempt will be made to examine their implications in relation to the problems and future of Nigerian education.

There is little need to make a long statement on who is to be educated. The various development programmes have taken for granted that the business of education concerns every citizen. The most equitable system of education is one which provides equality of educational opportunities for all. It is the goal to which Nigeria has wholeheartedly committed itself.

It seems evident from the complex nature of the manpower needs of



the country that its citizens must be educated in various ways and at different levels. The corollary of this is that education cannot be of the same kind and quality for everybody. Individual differences and endowments incline the citizens to the choice of different careers and disciplines. Both the Ashby Commission and the Banjo Commission, and also the Dike Committee have suggested the need for the development of a system of aptitude testing so that a person's natural potentialities can be taken into consideration in deciding what kind of education and vocational training would be suitable for him. What tests would eventually be adopted are still undecided, but it is clear that the education for the future Nigerians must be decided on the basis of what is best for the individual with respect to age, aptitude and ability. In making these weighty decisions, the social background of the educand must be taken into serious consideration.

In terms of curricula and of the nation's needs, this will mean basic general education for all, a liberal academic education for some, while others are to be oriented towards the technical, commercial or agricultural training or towards the professions--teaching, law, medicine and engineering. By whatever means, and whatever the degree and variety of education, the wider implications of education must be understood by the educands and the educators.

Education in Africa must enable as many as possible to understand the strains and stresses to which the continent is subjected...to appreciate the changes that take place, to contribute fully in a specialist spirit for the benefit of all...At any time there will be some needs of the nation which are urgent. Urgent needs are by definition contemporary needs. But the educational structure of a nation should





not be rigidly geared in an ad hoc and opportunist way to problems of the day alone. Education is a perennial activity, and who can tell what the needs of a nation will be from time to time, who can tell how they might change?...The educational structure of a nation should be primed to make remedial provisions for changing and even unforeseen needs.<sup>8</sup>

### Content and Methods of Education<sup>9</sup>

#### Primary Education

The most glaring defects in the existing content of Nigerian education were its heavy literary basis and the slavish adherence to foreign syllabuses and external examinations. Future planning and organization of the curricula must wean the various educational institutions away from the stifling grip of external standards while at the same time maintaining the obvious value of liberalizing influences.

The aim of the primary school should be to lay the foundations of a permanent literacy and to promote in the pupils an understanding of the Nigerian society, its problems and needs and the part which the individual citizen can and should play in it. The curriculum should also be such that it would encourage a curiosity for knowledge about the rest of Africa and the outside world. The primary school should also recognize and uphold the best values in traditional African education. The primary schools should help to develop basic skills and correct attitudes to work and leisure.

The achievement of all these aims will depend to a large extent

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<sup>8</sup>W. A. Abrahams, The Mind of Africa (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1962), p. 191.

<sup>9</sup>The undocumented statements contained under this sub-heading are based on the writer's personal knowledge and experiences as a teacher in Nigeria.



on the content of the primary school course and the methods employed in the teaching. These will, in turn, depend on the quality of the teachers who are charged with the task. A more detailed consideration of the teacher situation must be deferred to later pages.

In order to promote an understanding of the Nigerian society, the writer ventures to suggest a study of two of the main Nigerian languages as the core of the primary school curriculum. Into these studies would be woven the lessons on Nigerian communities and traditions, with attempts to understand the reasons for differences and similarities, and also to see in those differences, opportunities and challenges for the enrichment of national life and heritage. Every Nigerian child should be brought up to know not only the local history and geography but also the elements of local government, national government and some elements of comparative government.

Besides the study of local languages and social studies, there is need to acquire the rudiments of arithmetic. In this regard, the country should seriously consider the possibilities of making a quick switch-over to the metric system. Apart from long usage, which incidentally still serves as a reminder of the colonial days, the English system of mensuration and weights has been an expensive handicap. There is little excuse for the continued use of units like inches, poles and furlongs, of avoirdupois measurements which do not come into the daily experiences of the children and most adults in Nigeria. No less absurd and inconvenient are the units of money exchange--farthings--which no one has ever seen or used in Nigeria--and the many fractions which make up





the pound sterling.

To make arithmetic and calculation meaningful, not only must a simplified system be adopted, but the examples and problems used in Nigerian textbooks should be taken from local and every day situations, experiences and activities. Problems should be set in connection with the activities on the farming calendar, the periodic market days, the contents and layout of the Nigerian markets and local transportation methods. No concepts should be introduced whose significance the children are incapable of grasping or illustrating from everyday experience.

More use should be made of the creative urges in music, dancing, folk-tales, drama and handicrafts. Education for nationhood should be furthered by common background materials: Many of these, especially the arts, have been neglected in early Christian education.

The arts have proven most effective in symbolizing a common background and a sense of unity, and have repeatedly been used to unite people in common cause, to unify people into larger groupings for political purposes such as independence or federation, or for the purposes of hostility and warfare. The same artistic symbols can be used to rally people to peace or war, as music from past wars can be used to promote unity in times of peace. Either war or peaceful unity could be the future of Africa, but thus far at least, folk-lore, music and the graphic and plastic arts have been used for peaceful unification, and on several levels. They are being used to unify ethnic groups which share a common past, a common language, and a common culture but which have been segmented by past quarrels and divided by artificial boundaries drawn in Europe.<sup>10</sup>

The following Art features should be given attention and encour-

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<sup>10</sup>William Bascom, "Comments: African Arts and Social Control," African Studies Bulletin (Boston: Boston University), pp. 24-25.





agement, not only in the primary schools but also at all levels and in all kinds of educational institutions:

The Plastic Arts

wood carving  
mud sculpture  
bronze and brass works  
terra-cotta works  
glass and bead making

Graphic Arts

mural painting  
commercial batik designs

Traditional Crafts

cloth weaving, particularly at  
the standards achieved by Oyo  
and Akwette weavers  
pottery  
leathercraft  
furniture carving, door-post  
decorations, etc.

Music and Dancing

religious music and dances  
festival music and dances  
secular music  
recreational music  
African influences on foreign  
music  
Foreign influences on African  
music

English in Secondary Education

The secondary schools should, in the future, aim to provide for



the majority of citizens, a sound preparation for taking their places as self-supporting and responsible members of the community. The Sixth Forms should give to students adequate preparation for the universities and other institutions of higher education or for the further training required for personnel in the intermediate high level manpower categories.

The secondary school curriculum has been more unbalanced and more unsuitable than the primary school curriculum.

That English will continue to be the language of instruction in secondary and higher education, few people are likely to doubt. The content of the English course, and the way it is taught, however, leaves much to be desired. The teaching profession suffers from the lack of expert teachers, particularly in English. Of those who have the required academic background and training, few remain for long in the teaching profession. The greater part of the secondary school teaching is, therefore, done by temporary and ill-qualified teachers. One experienced English teacher and administrator remarked:

All these (temporary and unqualified teachers of English) would not matter so much if we were talking of the teaching of history or biology or even mathematics. But English is the life blood of the whole educational system at the secondary level; without it, history or biology or mathematics cannot very well be learned. In the secondary school everything is learned through the medium of English, and if either the pupil or the teacher is deficient in his skill in the language, the whole edifice of secondary education will crumble away.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>D. W. Grieve, "English in the West African Secondary School." Overseas Education, IV, No. 1., May 1963, p. 10.





The greatest weakness has been in the examination demanded at the end of the secondary school course. D. W. Grieve, who was for many years the Assistant Registrar of the West African Examination Council, and himself the author of one of the best known series of books for the secondary school English course, described the situation in the following words:

English language in the School Certificate examination as it stands today is not a test of the essential language skills which a child should have either for work or for further study. A child may well pass the School Certificate in English Language, and yet remain functionally illiterate for the rest of his life. Nowhere is there a test of ability to make note, to use reference books, even to read a newspaper and make sense out of it--and it is these skills and others like them that the products of the secondary school will need and to which much of the teaching in those schools ought, therefore, be directed.<sup>12</sup>

Among the remedies suggested by Grieve were (i) the institution of research into the practical problem of learning and teaching English; (ii) the expansion of training facilities for teachers of English, and (iii) the provision of adequate textbooks. In this regard he observed:

It is to be hoped that Nigerian, Ghanaian and Sierra Leonian teachers and others will be able to participate much more fully at this stage, for, in the matter of learning English as a second language in Africa, one thing is certain: that the key to the door, if indeed a key exists at all, will ultimately be found by Africans and not by English or Englishmen or Americans, however well qualified the latter may be, because only Africans can possibly know all the real difficulties English presents to them, and only they can find a way to their solution.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18



There is little more to be added to Grieve's assessment of the state of English teaching in the secondary school except to urge that the problem be given a priority by the West African Examination Council, the universities whose demands dictate the content of the secondary school curriculum and by the various governments. Immediate and concerted effort should be made to revise the English syllabuses, cutting out the excessive dependence on formal grammar. Exercises to diversify the questions set in English language papers could be devised to bring out those skills which are more often required in everyday social and business communication and in higher studies. Teachers of English should have regular refresher courses on the problems and methods of teaching the subject, and in particular, every effort should be made to encourage teachers to write their own textbooks, based on successful teaching methods and practices in the classroom. There should be a strong financial inducement to make this worth the effort and time expended.

If there are serious criticisms with the teaching of English language, there are even more grievous anomalies in the English literature syllabuses. The set texts are often archaic and generally beyond the comprehension of the pupils. One critic ventured to suggest, and one has to agree with him, that "in selecting texts some thought must be given to the total effect of the varied backgrounds to which they refer."<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>D. C. Miller, "Preliminary Notes on the Teaching of English in Nigerian Secondary Schools," Overseas Education, III, No. 2, June, 1959, p.62.





He went on to ask,

What picture of English life and thought may be fashioned out of a literary diet in which the main constituents are, for example, The Canterbury Tales, the Arthurian Legend, Alice in Wonderland, David Copperfield and a play by Sheridan? Surely if the pupils are to form any coherent and reasonably comprehensive picture of Britain and the British, it is probable that the English Literature course will have in the main to refer to the background of modern (that is, post-nineteenth century) British society.<sup>15</sup>

The aim of the English Literature course, the same writer suggested,

...Is primarily to develop appreciative awareness of the writer's intentions and the means by which he seeks to fulfil them. If this is so, then the aim of the course is much less to know about than to know how. It is less that the pupils may possess the knowledge with which<sup>16</sup> to describe than the ability with which to discriminate.

It is encouraging to note an increasing awareness of the anomalies with regard to the English Language and Literature courses in Nigerian schools. A special conference on the subject was held at Fourah Bay College, Freetown, from the 3rd to the 8th of April, 1963. Among its recommendations was the necessity to introduce African texts in the literature syllabuses "to make those students brought up on a diet of the established English classics realize that there is a small but rapidly growing body of African writing worthy of serious study and informed criticism."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 64

<sup>17</sup>M. Macmillan, "African Writing and the Literature Syllabus." A Conference Report. West African Journal of Education, VII, No. 3, October, 1963, p. 15.





The Conference made it clear that the African texts included for study need not match up to the established English classics for "to study the work of the present generation of young writers is not to set them up on a pedestal or to suggest that they have "arrived". We should not be paying tribute to genius but recognizing promise."<sup>18</sup>

The Conference proposed that the literature course in school and first year university should include,

- (a) significant works by African writers,
- (b) non-African literature accessible to African students by reason of themes or situations or attitudes of mind within the students' range of experience and comprehension,
- (b) a selection of established and recognised classics, which as Professor Creighton stressed, do not use "a highly esoteric" an unlimited convention related to special aspects of European thought, cultural developments, manners, customs or social history.<sup>19</sup>

### History and Geography

Until very recently there were no papers on African history in the School Certificate examination. And even now, the paper, The Opening Up of Tropical Africa, offered at the Higher School Certificate Examination only, deals with the period from 1807 to 1890. There is an obvious need for papers such as the "Growth of Nationalism" in selected African countries in the West, East, South and North of the Continent. A paper on pre-European Africa will go a long way to convert <sup>the correct</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 158

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 159.



the attitude that Africa had no history before the white men came. The obvious difficulty in setting up such a paper would be the availability of suitable textbooks. Although a fair amount of research has been done, no attempt is as yet made to bring the results into compact and more digestible forms suitable for use in the schools. This is a question which clearly requires urgent consideration and attention.

Another sad comment is the fact that most of the history textbooks currently being used are written by non-Africans, with understandably non-African biases and points of view. There is challenge here for African historians to redress this.

The position of the geography syllabuses is perhaps not as bad as that of history. For many years, one of the papers in the School Certificate Geography has been based on West Africa, in particular, and the rest of Africa in general. There is, however, room in the classroom teaching for more general illustrations of principles in geography with more local examples. There is need for greather collaboration between teachers, governments, the West African Examination Council, the universities in West Africa and the Overseas Universities.

In the classroom situation, the teaching of geography is too mechanical, too abstract. More attempt should be made to use the pupil's own knowledge and background. Also, the amount and quality of outdoor work which is done is negligible. Of course, it is not easy to teach practically and meaningfully in West Africa, such subjects as glaciation, economic geography of the Rhine Valley and similar subjects with which the syllabuses have been loaded.





## Science

Every Commission and every Committee or survey bearing on Nigerian education has stressed the importance of teaching science in the schools. The Banjo Commission quotes the sentence, "Without science, we die,"<sup>20</sup> as Nigerian coinage and points out that the reverse statement, "With science, we flourish," is no less true. Unfortunately, the realization of the importance of science had not at the time of writing, materialized in the form of better planning and greater spending. In 1960 a survey was published on the teaching of science in the Nigerian grammar schools during the year 1958. The survey covered the 39,066 pupils in 213 schools.

At the time of the survey the number of pupils being offered an apparently adequate and balanced programme in the sciences--either physics, chemistry and biology, or General sciences--was of the order of 20,000. But, on the most generous of estimates, not more than 35 per cent of 7,000 were attending schools where the staffing fulfilled even the minimal requirements their programme would seem reasonably to demand.<sup>21</sup>

The survey also went on to state that,

We can expect four out of every five (or about 31,000) in June, 1958, of the boys and girls attending our grammar schools to receive some education in the sciences, though

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<sup>20</sup>Banjo Commission Report, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> <sup>21</sup>R. H. Stone, A Survey of Science Teaching in Nigerian Grammar Schools (Ibadan: The Institute of Education, University College, Ibadan, 1960), p. 20.



the nature and extent of the science they offered is likely to vary between boys' schools and girls' schools; and established schools and new.<sup>22</sup>

Another relevant survey was made of the School Certificate subjects offered by candidates in the Nigerian secondary schools during 1959. The total number of candidates was 3,969, of which 73 per cent were successful. Fourteen per cent obtained First Division Certificates, 30 per cent were placed in the Second Division and 56 per cent in the Third Division.

The Analysis showed that Religious Knowledge and Mathematics were taken by 89 per cent and 88 per cent of the candidates, respectively, and followed in order of popularity by History (73 per cent) and Biology (64 per cent).

From a general consideration of entries and results, it is clear that there are still far fewer entries in the Science subjects, particularly those which require a practical examination than for the Arts subjects, and that the real obstacle to passing examination or getting a good division in it, is fundamental weakness in English.<sup>23</sup>

At the Higher School Certificate Level, the concentration seems to be reversed and the sciences were given prominence.

Among the boys, the largest numbers of principal subject entries are in Chemistry (67 per cent), Physics (65 per cent), Botany (42 per cent) and Zoology (40 per cent), the subjects needed for entry to the Faculties of Medicine, Agriculture and Engineering and Science in the Universities. After these come Mathematics (32 per cent) and Further Mathematics (25 per

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>23</sup>Professor C. L. H. Alexander, "Secondary School Leaving Examinations in Nigeria," Overseas Education XXXIII, No. 1, April 1961, p. 61.





cent), then History (22 per cent). Other arts subjects taken by at least 10 per cent of the candidates are English (19 per cent), Geography (18 per cent) Economics (14 per cent) and Latin (10 per cent). Bible Knowledge so popular in the West African School Certificate examination is taken by only 8 per cent of the candidates.<sup>24</sup>

### Commercial, Agricultural and Industrial Education

The recommendations of the various commissions, if fully implemented, should go a long way to meeting the country's needs. But special pleadings must be made for agricultural education. Inducement must be given to young people to enable them to take up agriculture much more seriously. A good deal will have to be placed on the examples of the leaders. It is not convincing for the leaders to cry the virtues of agricultural education if they keep all their own children and relatives from receiving such an education. Frequent exhortation to the young people, urging them to return to the villages would be fruitless as long as all the amenities and social services were available only in the towns. The government must really bend over backward to reward those who have the required training in agriculture. It cannot be too strongly stressed that the exciting salary scales and working conditions are not sufficient to attract young people for training in agriculture.

### Higher Education

These subjects have received a good deal of attention and nothing

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 10.





much more can be added until the graduates of the new universities have had the opportunity to make their influence felt in Nigerian life.

Those who are called upon to teach in our highest institutions should be more research-minded and should not look upon the university as a secure and permanent haven after the achievement of the Ph. D. degree. A university teacher must justify his exalted position in Nigerian society by effective teaching and contributions to knowledge and scholarship, as well as by active and constructive participation in national life.

At the moment, the universities are under-used. There are no summer credit courses and the extensive facilities lie idle for about four or five months every year. There are one or two summer vacation courses but only a very small proportion of the staff is involved. Extra financial inducement should be offered for more work and short research projects during the long vacations.

#### Control and Administration of Education

The post-independence Commissions on Nigerian education have pointed out the need for national planning. The acceptance of the various recommendations seems to take for granted a high degree of co-operation between the Regional and Federal Governments in the pursuit of educational objectives. There is much to be said for a Central Ministry of Education which would have more powers than the existing Federal Ministry of Education. Such a Central Ministry should be responsible for an over-all planning of Nigerian education. But in order to provide the



special needs of the regions, there should also be an Advisory Board in each Region whose functions should be similar to the Advisory Councils for England and Wales. A unified school system in Nigeria, which is made out of such diverse elements would probably go a long way to strengthen the link of national togetherness. In the pre-1939 days there was only one common primary school leaving certificate examination and this was recognized and respected by all. Since regionalization began, there has been much confusion about standards, matters of qualifications and quality of training given at various regional levels. These problems could be tackled under a unified but flexible system.

Although the writer favours a strong central Ministry to co-ordinate plans and to pursue a common educational policy, the executive responsibility should be invested in the local bodies, preferably the provincial units. The provincial Education Boards should in turn delegate a large part of their routine duties to the Local Education Authorities. The new organization should have a clear channel whereby ideas and suggestions could be passed from the base of the organizational ladder to the top in the Central Ministry Administration. And as recommended by the Banjo Commission, matters affecting the professional side of education should be decided by the professional side of the Ministry.

### Some Special Problems of Nigerian Education

#### Girls' Education

A consideration of the education of African women brings to mind





one of the favourite sayings of Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey.<sup>25</sup> Dr. Aggrey often stressed in many of his speeches that "When you educate a man, you train an individual, but when you educate a woman, you are, in fact, educating a whole family." As no nation can rise above the level of its womanhood, there is desperate need in Nigeria and all over Africa to raise the status of the womenfolk to the same level being achieved for the men. Although at the time of writing, the education received was, at most levels, deficient in both quantity and quality, the special needs of women had not received a fair consideration. In Northern Nigeria, where only about ten per cent of the children of primary school age were actually enrolled in the schools, not more than one-tenth of the school population was made up of girls. In the educationally more advanced Regions of the East and the West, the gap between the girls' and boys' education has been narrowed at the primary school stage, but there were still three boys to every girl in the secondary school. At the universities, the girls accounted for less than five per cent of the enrolment.

The effects of the glaring imbalance between girls' and boys' education are obvious. Most of the best educated young men cannot find wives to match their own level of education, experience and interests. This is a social handicap which is reflected on the up-bringing of the children.

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<sup>25</sup>Dr. Kwegyir Aggrey was born in 1875 at Anamabu, Gold Coast (Ghana). He became a famous educator and lecturer. He was a member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission and one of the founders of Achimote College.



One of the contributory factors relating to the neglect of girls' education is their quicker physical and emotional maturity. The tendency in most African societies is to regard marriage, not as a matter of individual choice, but a question of social obligation. The girls who are not in school spend most of their time in learning to play the role of a wife and mother. Those who are in school are hustled into matrimony at the earliest opportunity.

The home and not a career is still regarded as the proper sphere for a woman's activities. Women could be teachers, nurses and secretaries, and hardly anything else. Today, the position is changing rapidly. Women are to be found in the highest positions but only a few are so highly placed. The high-level manpower needs of the country would be easier to meet and even exceeded, if the possible contributions of the female population were regarded as significant. Even the far-seeing Ashby Commission omitted to lay emphasis on the contribution which the women can and should make to the development of the national economy.

As in teacher training, the present writer believes that a situation of real emergency exists in girls' education and that the problems should be tackled with vigour and with every means including the expensive and the unconventional. The following indicate possible lines of action:

- (a) that girls' education in the Northern Region should be made free at all levels from the primary school to the university and in the other Regions there should be a more generous provision of scholarships for girls until such a time as the





existing imbalance is redressed;

- (b) that no one be permitted to marry before the age of fifteen;
- (c) that every girl who undertakes to enter into a post-primary institution should aim at completing the course prescribed;
- (d) that more girls' secondary schools be opened in all parts of the country and the existing ones expanded;
- (e) that boys' schools be encouraged to open their doors to girls and that generous grants be made available for providing additional staff and facilities;
- (f) that a high-powered and liberally composed commission be appointed to look into the whole question of women's education;
- (g) that the findings and recommendations of such a commission be implemented with all possible speed;
- (h) that such questions as curricula to meet the special needs of the sex, the extent to which a full-time career is compatible with the stability and harmony of the African home, the suitability or otherwise of the same type of education given to the men at all stages of education be examined closely and urgently;
- (i) the Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Ministry of Information should embark upon an effective scheme of propaganda to project a more progressive image of the Nigerian woman.





## Adult Education

The education of adults and especially of young people in Africa should not be limited to the elimination of illiteracy. It should, if possible, be attuned to local living and cultural conditions and to the present level of school education, even where this does not go beyond primary elementary level, and should make use of all effective means and methods. It should be organised in such a way as to enable adults and young people who have had no schooling to become literate and acquire education and a scientific training in this way, adult education besides furthering the intellectual development of the population, can also serve in some degree to improve conditions and be a factor for progress.<sup>26</sup>

In the past adult education was neglected and considered as only of secondary importance. A large section of the Nigerian population have had little or no education through no fault of theirs but because of lack of opportunities. A crash programme is recommended.

- (a) That a national law be passed requiring everyone between the ages of six and fifty to be taught to read and write in at least one of the Nigerian languages;
- (b) That everyone who shall have completed a full secondary school course to be asked by the Local Authority to give the equivalent of at least two hours a week to the adult education campaign effort for a period of at least six months in the year;
- (c) That an incentive in the form of a small honorarium be paid to every voluntary worker who succeeds in putting a stated number of adults through a basic course in reading and writing;

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<sup>26</sup> UNESCO, Development of Education in Africa, Addis-Ababa, 1961, p. 57.



- (d) That a whole series of Second Path colleges be opened to adults through part-time and evening studies, to enable them to continue their formal education and training;
- (e) That the existing system of extra-mural studies be re-organized so that the success in certain subjects be allowed to count towards a degree or diploma at universities;
- (f) That a department in the proposed Central Ministry of Education be assigned to the planning and co-ordination of adult education effort;
- (g) That a study group be appointed to examine the methods of adult education in such countries as Japan, Russia and the United States, which have succeeded in wiping out illiteracy in a relatively short time.

### The National Language

Although there are some nations like Switzerland and Belgium that do not have a single national language, it is in the interest of Nigerian national solidarity that serious thought be given to the possible adoption and development of one of the main languages as a national language. Of over one hundred different languages spoken in the country, more than three-quarters of the population speak at least one of the three main languages--Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba. The delicate decision is the choice of one of those three, for a national language. Hausa has the big advantage of being simple and of also being the most widely spoken language in Nigeria. Indeed, it is spoken by several million people outside the country. The Yorubas claim for their language, a higher degree of soph-





istication and it contains more written materials. It is, however, a difficult language. The Ibos, too, can marshall a good argument in support of their own language. Impartial evidence would tend to agree that the adoption of the Hausa language as the national language of Nigeria would be a wise choice.

The lessons of India, Pakistan and Ceylon should, however, warn us that the language problem is full of emotional overtones. It cannot be resolved by the simple measure of a majority vote in the national legislature. At the moment, the issue seems to have been shelved, but in the interest of national education and national pride, it should be given serious, dispassionate attention. Chief H. E. Davies has made a suggestion which is reasonable as an interim measure. He wrote:

It is in the interest of mutual understanding and of the stability of the Federation of Nigeria that encouragement should be given in the three regions for the free study of at least the three principal languages in order to give future Nigerians a working knowledge of each. This will go a long way to bridging the gap of misunderstanding which tribalism has created. The question of choosing one of those languages as the official language of the centre could then be carefully reviewed against the claims of English as continuing lingua franca.<sup>27</sup>

### The Crisis in Teacher Education

The position and status of the teacher is the weakest link in the chain of Nigerian education. There is a crisis of gigantic proportions in teacher training and a completely new attitude has to be adopted by

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<sup>27</sup>Chief H. O. Davies, Nigeria, The Prospects for Democracy (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicholson, 1961), p. 108.



the Governments and people to put the teachers in their rightful places in national life. One writer on the problems of Africanization put the matter this way:

If leaders and people were determining their own destiny it is difficult to see how they could fail to realize at once that an all out concentration on a vast and thorough going teacher-training program will be laying the solid foundation for all that is to follow, no matter what field of national effort is considered and no matter how urgent other needs are.<sup>28</sup>

As a pre-condition to the establishment of a thorough-going programme, the image of the teacher has to be changed. The highest prestige is given to the doctors, lawyers and politicians. Nigeria is one of the countries which has a very large doctor-patient ratio. This is partly due to the fact that the Nigerian Medical Council has insisted on nothing but the highest standards in medical practice. Even the Ashby Commission complained that the slavish adherence to the requirements of medicine in Britain was something the country could not afford. It is certainly a good thing to aim at very high standards in matters of health but there is an absurd anomaly in the existing situation in which so much care is being taken to maintain a healthy body, but so little concern is expressed for the healthy mind which is the duty of the teacher to cultivate. A West African educator points out this anomaly in the following words:

Why should a man be called a quack and be prosecuted by the state for practising medicine without proper qualifications

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<sup>28</sup>C. Williams, "Educational Obstacles to Africanization in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone," The Journal of Negro Education, XXV, No. 3, Summer, 1961, p. 264.





and yet the same man be called a pupil teacher and be paid by the State for practising teaching without proper qualifications? It cannot be simply a question of the supply and demand, for qualified teachers are in just as short supply as qualified doctors in West Africa today, and in much shorter supply than qualified lawyers. Can it be that society seriously believes ignorance to have more injurious effects on men's body than on their minds?<sup>29</sup>

Few people would ever consider the idea of telling their doctors how to diagnose and cure their physical ailments but almost everyone exercises the right to tell the teacher just how he should do his duty. And in no country is the joke that, "he who can, does, and he who cannot, teaches," more legitimately true than in Nigeria.

The Nigerian teaching profession has become a half-way house and clearing house for the discontented, the frustrated and the disillusioned and for the ambitious who are marking their time until there is an opportunity for higher education or for escape into more lucrative, more highly regarded occupations. No teacher education programme stands any chance of success until the conditions of the training and employment of teachers are raised, not merely to the level of the professions of law and medicine, but in fact, placed above all of them. For it is only by aiming at a higher mark that the teaching profession can stand a chance of reaching parity of status and esteem with the other professions.

This is not an over-ambitious and unreasonable claim. The teaching profession is the mother of all the other professions. The quality of those students who go into medicine, law, engineering and agriculture

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<sup>29</sup>W. F. Conton, "The Profession," West African Journal of Education, III, No. 2, June 1959, p. 66.





will depend to a large extent on the quality of their general education in the primary and secondary schools. Any significant increase in the quality of the teaching profession will reflect itself in the quality of those who pass on to train for other professions.

The re-organization of the teaching profession is a two dimensional effort which involves the improvement of quantity and quality. All the existing proposals aim at eliminating the untrained teacher and the teacher with only a poor academic background and training. The introduction of the Nigerian Teachers' Certificate is a step in the right direction but there is also a need to close the gap between the graduate teacher and the trained non-graduate teacher. A just scale of remuneration should reflect only the difference in the amount of extra time required to obtain a university degree. All the years spent in training for the National Certificate should be recognized as exempting from part of the work done at the university. The writer agrees with Dr. Cyril Bibby, who suggests,

There are in fact, many different ways in which a trained graduate teacher might be produced, and I would press strongly for the greatest possible flexibility. For some, a three year course for a B. Sc. degree followed by a year for the Certificate in Education might be best; for others, a four year concurrent course for a new degree of B. Ed.; for others a three year course for a certificate followed by one or two years for a degree, for yet others a degree taken after a few years teaching experience, either by a second year of full time study or by directed part-time study. In the university



house there should be many mansions.<sup>30</sup>

If the kind of flexibility advocated by Dr. Bibby is not adopted and the Nigerian teaching profession continues divided into the untrained, the certificated but non-graduate and the graduate teacher, and with such wide gaps between the salaries paid within the profession and also as between teaching and other professions, there is little hope in the possibility of building up the corps of dedicated, highly trained and efficient men and women that the huge developmental plans in education call for. The experience of the Nigerian College should warn us that the Nigerian Teachers' Certificate cannot attract enough students of the right calibre unless it is treated on a rational basis with the teaching qualifications obtained at the university.

#### Other Recommendations With Regard to Teachers

- (a) That no graduate studies in education be permitted until the student has spent at least two years in full time teaching at a school, or equivalent experience;
- (b) That every year spent in post-graduate training and research in the field of education be allowed to count for salary increments and for promotion;
- (c) That personal qualities and demonstrated abilities carry more

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<sup>30</sup>C. Bibby, "The Universities and the Teachers' Colleges," Universities Quarterly, XIV, No. 3, June, 1961, p. 248. Bibby's suggestions, although novel in England, has been widely practiced in Western Canada, particularly in Alberta where the university is responsible for the training of all teachers.





weight in the selection for promotion and appointment to special posts;

- (d) That the teaching certificate be granted for life (as is the case at the present), but that a teacher who fails to attend at least one refresher course in four years be subjected to a penalty in the form of loss of annual salary increment;
- (e) That a strong National Association of Teachers be developed to replace the present regional multiplicity of unions and grade interest aggregation agencies;
- (f) That during the transition stage when the untrained and the poorly trained teacher is being eliminated, that experienced and tried teachers be certificated, that part-time three year training schemes be instituted at suitable centres, so that half the time of the teacher is spent in teaching and half in a day training college;
- (g) That the present pension schemes for teachers be reviewed and made at least as attractive as the schemes for any other branch of the civil service;
- (h) That all teachers be paid by the government according to a scale which is uniform for voluntary agency schools and teachers in government educational institutions.

These comments on the teaching profession in Nigeria can be fittingly concluded with the reminder that "the sine qua non of a first class system of education is a first class teaching profession. We can build new universities and technical colleges; we can design modern schools



and equipment; we can organize an entirely new concept of secondary education; but without an adequate supply of teachers of quality, the whole thing will fall to the ground."<sup>31</sup>

### A Nigerian Philosophy of Education

Earlier in this chapter, a general reference was made to philosophy as the basic element in the foundation fields of education. The various educational problems examined with regard to Nigerian education--all have implications which stem from important assumptions in the foundation fields--particularly in the field of philosophy of education. The writer, therefore, considers it appropriate that this study should conclude with a statement on A Nigerian Philosophy of Education.

The last word will probably never be written about the general aims and purposes of education. There is, however, room for comment on the specific and immediate aims of education under particular conditions, people and places. With respect to the general aims of Nigerian education a number of viewpoints deserve examination and consideration.

The writer's own Professor of Education at the University of Birmingham, Dr. E. A. Peel, wrote:

The purpose of education is to promote the development of a well-integrated person, capable of exercising such responsibility in society as his powers allow.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>M. Hutchinson and C. Young, Educating the Intelligent, (London: Pelican Books, 1962), p. 17.

<sup>32</sup>Peel, p. 4.





A UNESCO publication declares that:

The aim of all education is to help men and women live fuller and happier lives in adjustment with their changing environment, to develop the best elements in their own culture, and to achieve the social and economic progress which will enable them to take their place in the modern world and to live together in peace.<sup>33</sup>

Another writer defines education as:

A life-long process of directed learning which enables both the individual and society to use the past's treasure of cultural inheritance, to operate effectively the institutions of the present, and to plan and invent wisely for the future.<sup>34</sup>

Professor M. V. C. Jeffreys defines the educational process somewhat differently. According to him,

Education is the nurture of personal growth. Education as an organized process, is concerned not only (or even chiefly) with the communication of knowledge and the acquisition of skill, but also with the formation of the right attitude--attitudes towards work, towards truth and goodness, towards other people, towards life in general.<sup>35</sup>

Education in the African context takes on still another hue. An African educator declared that:

Education is the very core of development in Africa. Now, if it is to fulfill its many functions satisfactorily, education in Africa must be African, that is, it must rest

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<sup>33</sup>Fundamental Education, Description and Programme. Publication No. 363 (Paris: UNESCO, 1949), p. 9.

<sup>34</sup>A. Moehlman, Comparative Educational Systems (Washington: Center for Social Research, 1963), p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>M. C. V. Jeffreys, Personal Values in the Modern World (London: Pelican Books, 1962), p. 111.





on a foundation of specifically African culture and be based on the special requirements of African progress in all fields.<sup>36</sup>

The same writer emphatically maintains that:

Education in the African countries cannot be conceived simply from the standpoint of the pleasure of acquiring knowledge. The African tradition has been to regard education not as an epiphenomenon with respect to community activities, but rather as a preparation of the individual whereby he is enabled to take his place in society as a full citizen.<sup>37</sup>

All these definitions make two basic assumptions: (i) that the business of education concerns all individuals and, (ii) that it takes into consideration not only the needs and interests of the individual citizen, but also the welfare of the society as a whole.

Nigeria's educational plans for the future indicate the undisputed acceptance of these basic assumptions. A felicitous philosophy in Nigerian education must not, however, seek to promote not only the ends implicit in these general definitions, but also certain specific and immediate objectives: (a) provide the foundation for an effective political system which must be African in conception and operation, (b) make possible the diversification and modernization of agriculture

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<sup>36</sup>Jospeh Ki Zerbo, "The Content of African Education," Reports of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Addis-Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961, (Paris: UNESCO, 1961), Annéx IV, p. 55.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 58.



upon which the economic future of the country so heavily leans, (c) provide for the high level manpower and skilled labour required for an integrated programme of industrialization and (d) provide the flexibility, and adaptability to ensure continuity, change and enrichment of the cultural heritage, (e) play a leading role in uniting the diverse elements in Nigerian society into one people, imbued with loyalty to a united nation, with a common goal and a common destiny and (f) promote the development of attitudes which will enable Nigeria to play a co-operative role in the comity of nations.





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## APPENDIX A

### INTRODUCTION TO NIGERIA

#### Location, Size and Population

The Federal Republic of Nigeria is located in the eastern portion of the western bulge of Africa. Its physical boundaries are marked in the south by the Bight of Benin and Biafara, in the east by the Cameroons and Mandara highlands. In the north, no discernible physical barriers separate Nigeria from the Republic of the Niger. The same observation is true of the western frontiers with the state of Dahomey.

In size and in population, Nigeria is a huge country. It covers an area of approximately 356,669 square miles which is made up as follows:

Northern Region	281,782 sq. miles
Western Region	} 45,376 sq. miles
Mid-West Region	
Eastern Region	29,484 sq. miles
Federal Territory of Lagos	27 sq. miles

According to the final figures of the 1963 census, Nigeria's population now stands at 55,620,268, making it by far the most populous country on the African continent. The distribution of Nigeria's population is as follows:

Northern Region	29,758,875
Eastern Region	12,394,462
Western Region	10,265,846
Mid-West Region	2,535,839



Lagos

665,246<sup>1</sup>Climate and Vegetation

Nigeria lies entirely within the Northern Tropic and as might be expected, it is a hot country. There are two seasons: wet and dry. The wet season begins around May and lasts until November. The wet season is at least one month shorter in the far north. During this period, the prevailing winds come from the direction of the south-west and as they cross the sea, they bring moisture, most of which is deposited as rain in the southern half of the country. The amount of rainfall decreases with distance from the coast. Akassa and Lagos, two towns on the coast, have an average annual rainfall of 172 and 72 inches respectively. In contrast, the northern cities of Kano and Maiduguri each have only 32 inches of rain during the year. In the far north, the dry season begins late in October and continues until April. This season is the period when the apparent movement of the sun lies between the equator and the Southern Tropic. A belt of low pressure is created in the south and the heated air rises. The wind system adjusts itself to bring in colder air from the north. The prevailing wind comes across the Sahara desert from the north-east. It is a cold, very dry and dusty wind known locally as the Harmattan. The harmattan is very severe in the far north but in some parts of the coast it is hardly felt at all.

April is the hottest month of the year and the lowest temperatures

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<sup>1</sup>These figures are as reported in West Africa, No. 2466 (Saturday, 6th September, 1964), p. 1007.





are recorded in January. Eighty degrees Fahrenheit would be the mean annual temperature over most of Nigeria. Maximum temperatures seldom exceed  $100^{\circ}$  F and the minimum is about  $60^{\circ}$  F.

Plant life in Nigeria is influenced more by rainfall differences than differences in temperatures. The vegetation varies from mangrove swamps and evergreen forests in the wet coastal areas of the south to the vast grassland belt of the interior. In the far north the grasslands thin into scrubs and finally fade into the waterless wastes of the Sahara.

### The Peoples of Nigeria

The country is inhabited by a number of large tribes and scores of smaller groups. The Hausa, the Ibo and the Yoruba tribes each number several million strong. The social organization, particularly in Yorubaland, is very complex. Other important groups are the Edo (Binin), Ibibio, Kanuri, Tiv, Efik, Itsekiri, Urhobo, Nupe, Kalabari and Ijaw. The term 'tribe' as applied to Nigeria, usually refers to a group with a common language. The Hausas form the largest group in Nigeria and they are found in every state in West Africa. The Hausa language is also the most widely spoken language in West Africa.

Tribal groupings are of great political influence and significance. The Northern Peoples Congress draws most of its support from the Hausa and Fulani and other groups in the north. On the other hand, the Action Group is predominantly Yoruba in its composition. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens, despite its name and its countrywide organization, tends to be regarded as the Ibo party. Political alliances and govern-



ments have, however, always been formed across tribal affiliations.

### Religions

The great majority of the people in the North are adherents to the Moslem faith. In the West, there is almost an equal number of Moslems and Christians but in the East there are few Moslems indeed. Christianity has the largest following in Eastern Nigeria. In all parts of the country there are large numbers who profess traditional African religions.

### Occupations

Nigeria is predominantly an agricultural country. More than four-fifths of the inhabitants are engaged in subsistence farming. However, cash crops like cocoa, groundnuts, rubber and palm products account for most of the exports. The great majority of the Nigerian farmers use the simplest of tools--the hoe and the machet--and can produce just enough food for the family and a little extra for sale, in order to procure a few necessities.

On the coast and the riverian areas, fishing forms an important occupation. 'Petty trading' is another occupation in which the women have always taken a leading part.

### History

The political entity which is today known as the Republic of Nigeria has a very recent history. It was a late nineteenth and early twentieth century product of the three-cornered rivalry between Britain, France and Germany. Nigeria was one of the many territories artificially





created by European powers during their scramble for colonies in Africa. Even the name Nigeria is of recent coinage. Its origin is traced to one Miss Flora Shaw, a young lady who later married Lugard, the British administrator who did more than anyone to create Nigeria. On January 8th, 1897, Miss Shaw wrote to the Times (London) and suggested the use of Nigeria as a collective name for the agglomeration of states which the Royal Niger Company had brought within the confines of a British Protectorate.<sup>2</sup> New as the name and present political structure are, the history of the Nigerian peoples dates far back to more than one thousand years.

As written records existed only in the north prior to the nineteenth century, most of this history is preserved in myths and legends, folk-lore, music lists and genealogies, works of art, archaeological findings and reconstruction of linguistic and ethnographic relationships. Much of this kind of work is still going on but a comprehensive history is still to be completed.

From the existing evidence, however, it can be pointed out that Nigeria was inhabited in neo-lithic times. Rock paintings which may be about two thousand years old, have been found at Birnin-Kebbi and the terra-cotta finds at Nok on the Plateau have established the existence of a vigorous culture dated between 500 B.C. and 200 A.D. The finds have

...Spread over an area 300 miles long, 100 miles wide,  
stretching diagonally from Katsina-Ala in the south-east

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<sup>2</sup>C. K. Meek, "The Niger and the Classics: The History of a Name," Journal of African History, I, (1960), p. 1.





to Kagara in the north-west. The Nok terra-cotta are generally of a high technical standard, and some of them rank as considerable works of art.<sup>3</sup>

These terra-cottas have been compared with examples of Yoruba art and considerable similarities are apparent. About the period extending from A. D. 1 to 1000, there is very little specific information. It is known, of course, that during this period, Northern Nigeria was subjected to external influences from the mediaeval Sudanese kingdoms of Ghana, Mali and Songhai and influences from the Maghreb and Tripolitania.

The major tribes, with the possible exception of the Ibo relate their descent to migratory movements from the north and north-east. Islam came into Northern Nigeria during the sixteenth century and it quickly became the central force in the religious, political and social life of the people. At a time when Europe was in the throes of the Renaissance and the Reformation, the Kanem kingdom and the Hausa states in Northern Nigeria were experiencing great political and commercial developments. According to one legend, the seven original Hausa states --Daura, Kano, Zazzau, Zamfara, Katsina, Gobir and Rano were founded by sons of the Queen of Daura. Hausaland suffered during the break-up of the Songhai empire in the sixteenth century. The city of Kano (for centuries the leading city in the north) was supplanted by Katsina as the centre of learning and scholarship. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Bornu and Katsina became the most powerful states in Northern Nigeria. The first half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of

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<sup>3</sup>Michael Crowder, The Story of Nigeria, (London: Faber and Taber, 1962), p. 28.



Zamfara to a position of power. Zamfara conquered Kano and was challenging the supremacy of Katsina. About the same time, the state of Gobir in the north-west was also consolidating its power. Zamfara and Gobir co-existed amicably until 1764 when conflict flared up between them. Gobir emerged the victor and it was from this state that a religious teacher--Usman dan Fodio--emerged to lead a Holy War against the degenerate and warring dynasties of Hausaland. Dan Fodio was essentially a quiet and retiring scholar who found himself at the head of a vast army. He gained victory after victory over the armies of the Hausa states. When Dan Fodio died in 1817 he left a vast Fulani empire to be administered by his brother Abdullahi and his own son, Bello. By the year 1830, the Fulani Empire had extended over most of what is now known as Northern Nigeria. The only places which did not bow down to the Fulani conquerors were Bornu, parts of Birnin-Kebbi and Gobir and some of the non-Moslem tribes in the hills. The Fulani Empire continued until 1903 when British forces under Sir Frederick (later Lord) Lugard completed its subjugation.

In the south of the country the first contacts with Europe were made during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In 1485, a Portuguese called John Affonso d'Aveiro, visited Benin kingdom and as a result of the contact, trade was established between Portugal and Benin kingdom. The first attempt to plant Christianity on Nigerian soil was also made about this time. The trade in pepper and ivory soon gave way to the trade in slaves. By the middle of the sixteenth century other European countries were competing with the Portuguese for trade in West Africa.







In the south-west, live the Yorubas who claim descent from the city of Mecca. Ile-Ife, the first of the Yoruba cities and still their spiritual home, was founded sometime about 1000 A.D. An empire was founded through settlement and conquest and the administrative capital was removed to Oyo. The Oyo Empire stretched from Ashanti (now in Ghana) right across Dahomey and eastwards to the bank of the river Niger, in the eighteenth century. By the close of the century, however, signs of weakness were beginning to appear in the fabric of the empire. The Alafin (King) and his palace administration at Oyo was proving increasingly incapable of keeping the vast empire under effective control. The numerous vassal kings (over 1000) were showing signs of sturdy independence and chafing at the payment of the annual tributes. Another factor which contributed to the weakening of the empire, was the fact that contacts with the Europeans on the coast and the increasing use of firearms was creating a new centre of influence and power. The first successful rebellion against the power of the Alafin was made by Afonja of Ilorin. Other provincial kings and chiefs followed suit and during most of the nineteenth century Yorubaland was involved in a series of internecine wars. The last of those wars was the Kiriji War which was concluded in 1886 through the intervention of the representatives of the British administration in Lagos and of the Church Missionary Society.

Another great historical development which stemmed out of the contact with Europe was the establishment of the slave trade to the Americas and the West Indies. Between 1553 and the end of the last century, it has been variously estimated that between fifteen and forty



million people were sold for transportation to the New World. The coast and hinterland of Nigeria were among the principal sources of slaves. The Nigerian coast was often marked in early maps as the Slave Coast.

With the discovery of the termination of the river Niger in 1830, a new era was ushered in. It was marked by several attempts to open up the areas around the river for ordinary trade and for the propagation of the Christian Gospel. A brisk trade in palm oil products developed between 1840 and 1880 and British consuls were appointed at such points as Lagos, Calabar, Benin and Lokoja. The first of the many steps which marked the establishment of British power was taken in 1851 when the king of Lagos was deposed and a more conciliatory ruler installed in his place. Ten years later the King agreed to cede Lagos to the British Crown.

In 1866 the settlement of Lagos was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the West African Settlements who resided at Freetown, Sierra Leone. Eight years later, Lagos was transferred to the control of the Governor of the Gold Coast Colony (now Ghana). It was not until 1886 that Lagos was once more administered by its own Governor.

Meanwhile, on the Niger and in the Oil Rivers the activities and rivalry of the various African and European trading firms were causing concern. The British traders were worried about losing ground to the more powerful combines of the French. The coastal chiefs who acted as middlemen between the producers in the interior and the European merchants on the coast were anxious to maintain this lucrative role. They resented the increasing control which was being exercised by the foreign powers,





particularly by Britain. The conflict of interests led to the deposition of the Jaja of Opobo and King Pepple of Bonny. The Oba of Benin was forced to capitulate in 1897 and Nana the Itsekiri was forced to flee his home a few years earlier.

To meet the competition from others, one George Dashwood Goldie Taubman succeeded in 1879 in combining the British interests to form one large company which was named the United African Company. The company was chartered in 1886 as the Royal Niger Company. It exercised considerable trading privileges and administrative powers. It was due largely to the company's activities that Britain was able to win (at the Berlin Conference of 1884-5), recognition of the Niger river area as a sphere of British influence. By 1900 formal protectorateships had been declared over the Oil rivers, the Niger Coast, Southern and Northern Nigeria. The Royal Niger Company lost its charter in 1900 and the British Government assumed direct control of these territories.

In 1906 Lagos and the Southern territories were joined together as the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Six years later, Lugard became Governor for both the Northern and Southern Protectorates. He took the next logical step and on January 1st, 1914, he formally amalgamated the whole country in the name of the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria.

Beginning with a small Legislative Council in 1923, Nigeria has taken a series of constitutional steps which (after the Second World War) became clearly recognized by Nigerians as paving the way for eventual self-government. The 1923 Constitution was revised in 1945 by Governor,





Sir Arthur Richards. The concept of regions as units of administration and political power was introduced and for the first time Northern Nigeria was represented in the Legislative Council. The three regions--East, North and West--each had its own legislature. The constitution was intended to run a trial period of nine years but the Nigerian leaders were impatient for further reforms and constitutional advancements. The Constitution was revised in 1951 under the Governor-General, Sir John Macpherson. The Macpherson Constitution came into effect in 1952. It provided for elections into the regional parliaments and greater legislative and financial powers to the regions. In the first general election ever held in the country, the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons won in the East, the Action Group in the West and the Northern Peoples' Congress in the North. The Constitution was short-lived. It was revised in 1953 and 1954. Under the revised arrangements, it was agreed that Nigeria should have a federal structure of government and that Lagos--the country's capital--should be separated from the Western Region and constituted into a Federal Territory. The regions were to enjoy residual powers over matters which were not specifically assigned to the Federal Government or held under concurrent jurisdiction. The heads of regional governments were to be styled 'premiers' and Sir Louis Chick was appointed commissioner to look into the fiscal relationship between the Federal Government and the Regions. The 1954 Constitutional Conference, despite its advance on many fronts, was unable to agree on the most burning issue before it--the question of setting a date for complete self-government. The Northerners held to the view that independence



should be granted only as soon as it was practicable.

Because of the inconclusiveness of the 1954 conference another was held in 1957 and was resumed the following year. The real problem before this Conference was not independence, but how to allay the fears of the minority groups within the country. When the Conference was resumed in the fall of 1958 the issue had been resolved and it was unanimously agreed that Nigeria should become an independent member of the British Commonwealth on the 1st of October, 1960. At the third anniversary of Independence--1st of October 1963, Nigeria's status was changed to that of a Federal Republic within the Commonwealth. The Head of State is the President and the Head of the Nigerian Government is the Prime Minister.

Today, Nigeria--Africa's largest nation--is faced with the formidable task of improving her economy and standard of living, of welding together her many peoples, and seeking to infuse into them the spirit of loyalty and the conviction of a common destiny. Hand in hand with developments at home, Nigeria is seeking to define her role in African affairs and in the comity of nations, generally.

In all these endeavours, education is seen as the main instrument of change and development.





## APPENDIX B

### THE ORGANIZATION OF NIGERIAN EDUCATION

#### Pre-School Education

At the time of writing, there were no statutory provisions for the formal education of children under the age of six. In some of the big towns and cities, there were a number of private schools and institutions which catered for the children of working mothers. Those institutions and schools did not receive grants from the governments.

#### Primary Education

The statutory system of education began at the age of six. In Western Nigeria the primary school took pupils till the age of twelve. They could then seek admission into the secondary grammar schools, the secondary modern schools, the trade centres or learn trades under mastercraftsmen.

The Federal Territory of Lagos also operated a six-year primary school course.

In the Northern Region, primary education began at six and ended at thirteen. The successful completion of the primary school course could lead the pupil into a grammar school, a grade III teacher training centre, a clerical training school, a trade or craft centre or into apprenticeship.

In the Eastern Region, two-year Infant Classes preceded the six classes in the primary school.



In all Regions and in the Federal Territory, there was a First School Leaving Certificate Examination at the end of the primary school course.

### Secondary Education

The secondary schools took in pupils at about the age of eleven or twelve. Entry into the secondary grammar school was through a competitive entrance examination in English, Arithmetic and General Knowledge. Some schools had as many as one hundred application for every vacant place. Most of the pupils in the Western Region and in Lagos who failed to gain admission into secondary grammar schools entered into the three-year secondary modern schools.

The secondary grammar schools prepared their students for the West African School Certificate in five years. A few schools took six years to complete the course. Success in the examination was subject to passing the English Language paper and at least four other subjects. The successful candidates were graded in three divisions - I, II, and III.

For entry into the universities, it was necessary to stay on in school for two more years after the School Certificate. Only the best students were accepted for those two senior years which were known as the Sixth Forms. In the Sixth Form Classes, a student was required to concentrate on three Arts or Science subjects. Most universities demanded good passes at the Principal Level of the Higher School Certificate or the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education, in addition to five subjects at the School Certificate or five Ordinary





Level passes at the General Certificate of Education. The Higher School Certificate Examinations were conducted by the University of Cambridge through the West African Examination Council. The General Certificate of Education Examinations were conducted by the University of London under similar arrangements with the West African Examination Council.

### Teacher Training

In 1959, it was estimated that there were some 103,000 teachers<sup>1</sup> in Nigerian educational institutions below university level. Of this number, the great majority, over 70,000, were untrained. They included those who had only a basic primary education, secondary school leavers and university graduates who had no professional training.

### Grade III

The lowest grade of trained teachers was the Grade III teacher. Entry requirements into the Grade III training college varied from one part of the country to another. In Northern Nigeria, the basic entry qualification was the completion of the primary school course. The period of training was, however, three years. In other parts of the country, only two years of training were required for the Grade III Certificate. In Western Nigeria and in the East, entrants into the Grade III course were required to possess at least one of the following qualifications: a secondary modern school leaving certificate, a Secondary Class Three or Class Four Certificate.

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<sup>1</sup>Teacher Education IV, No. 1, May, 1963. P. 59.





## Grade II

The Grade II certificate was awarded to teachers who had had at least two years of successful teaching experience since obtaining the Grade III Certificate, and who had also undergone two years of further training in a Grade II College. The Certificate was also open to entrants who had successfully completed the full secondary school course and had received two years of teacher-training at a Grade II college.

## Grade I

Grade I qualification was obtainable by Grade II teachers with at least five years of post-Grade II experience and who had also obtained at least two subjects at the Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education Examination, and were successful in a Practical Teaching Examination conducted by the Ministry of Education.

## The Graduate Teacher

The holder of a university degree with or without teaching qualification was rated above the Grade I teacher. The cream of the profession was made up of those graduates who had obtained a post-graduate diploma or certificate in education.

## Vocational, Technical and Commercial Education

Vocational, Technical and Commercial Education had not been fully integrated into the educational system and entry into them could be made at various levels.



### The Universities

Universities were autonomous institutions outside the general control and supervision of the various Ministries of Education. They received their financial support from the Governments but were free to determine academic policies and curricula.





## APPENDIX C

RESULTS OF EXAMINATIONS UNDER SCHEME OF SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP  
JUNE, 1952 - JUNE, 1956

## UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, IBADAN

		1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
<u>ARTS</u>						
Intermediate Arts	Candidates	34	32	41	31	38
	Pass	24	21	25	24	28
B. A. General	Candidates	21	22	16	15	11
	Pass	13	18	12	13	7
Subsidiary						
Subjects	Candidates	-	-	-	2	1
	Pass	-	-	-	2	1
B.A. Honours						
Classics	Candidates	-	-	2	3	4
	Honours	-	-	-	3	4
English	Candidates	-	-	-	-	-
	Honours	-	-	-	-	-
Geography	Candidates	-	-	-	-	2
	Honours	-	-	-	-	2
History	Candidates	-	-	-	14	8
	Honours	-	-	-	13	8
Latin	Candidates	-	-	2	3	2
	Honours	-	-	1	1	1
<u>SCIENCE</u>						
Intermediate						
Science	Candidates <sup>(1)</sup>	71	82	85	93	107
	Pass	34	63	63	73	80
B. Sc. General	Candidates	29	21	14	23	21
	Honours	1	1	-	2	-
	Pass	17	12	10	10	7
Subsidiary/						
Ancillary	Candidates	-	3	5	6	12
Subjects	Pass	-	3	5	6	9
B. Sc. SPECIAL						
Botany	Candidates	-	-	1	1	-
	Honours	-	-	1	1	-
	Pass	-	-	-	-	-
Chemistry	Candidates	-	-	-	1	6
	Honours	-	-	-	1	2
	Pass	-	-	-	-	4
Geography	Candidates	-	-	-	-	-
	Honours	-	-	-	-	-
	Pass	-	-	-	-	-



		1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Physics	Candidates	-	-	2	1	5
	Honours	-	-	2	-	1
	Pass	-	-	-	1	1
Zoology	Candidates	-	-	1	2	1
	Honours	-	-	1	-	1
	Pass	-	-	-	2	-
M. Sc.	Candidates	-	-	-	-	1
	Pass	-	-	-	-	1
<u>AGRICULTURE</u>						
B. Sc. Agriculture Part I	Candidates <sup>(2)</sup>	5	4	8	9	14
	Pass	3	3	5	4	6
	Referred	1	1	1	-	5
	Pass in Referred					
	Subjects	-	-	1	1	-
B. Sc. Agriculture Part II	Candidates	-	1	4	3	6
	Pass	-	1	4	3	4
<u>MEDICINE</u>						
Second M.B.	(2) a b	a b	a b	a b	a b	a b
	Candidates <sup>(2)</sup>	28 -	23 12	15 10	22 9	25 10
	Referred <sup>(3)</sup>	6 -	9 3	1 1	8 2	5 2
	Pass	12 -	10 4	4 -	11 2	8 -
	Pass in Referred					
	Subjects	3 -	1 5	1 7	1 1	2 6

NOTES

- (a) Examination in June  
for 2nd M.B.
- (b) Examination in February  
for 2nd M.B.

GENERAL FOOTNOTES

- (1) Candidates taking part  
only of intermediate level  
examination are not included
- (2) Candidates taking part of examination  
only are included in the total number  
entering for the examination
- (3) Candidates credited with Pharmacology  
only are included

Source. Report of Visitation to University College, Ibadan,  
January, 1957 (pp. 49-50).





# APPENDIX D

## SUMMARY OF INSTITUTIONAL FACILITIES AND FUTURE NEEDS AS SURVEYED BY THE ASHBY COMMISSION

Institutions	Locations	Training	Approx. Current Annual Output	Possible Future Output
Existing degree:				
University College	Ibadan	Agricultural degree	12	60
Proposed degree:				
Veterinary Research Institute	Vom	Professional veterinary degree	-	30
University in North	Zaria	Agricultural degree	-	75
University of Nigeria	Nsukka	Agricultural degree	-	75
Existing non-degree:				
Veterinary Research Institute	Vom	Veterinary assistants	35	80
		Laboratory technicians	12	20
Agricultural Research Institute	Samaru	Agricultural assistants	35	75
Moor Plantation	Ibadan	Agricultural superintendents	25	60
Agricultural School	Akure	Agricultural assistants	75	90
Umudike School	Umudike	Agricultural assistants	16	60
Forestry School	Ibadan	Technicians	16	25
Proposed non-degree:				
Agricultural School	Kabba	Agricultural assistants (2)		75
Agricultural School	In East, operated by University of Nigeria	(3)		75
Agricultural School	In West	(4)		75
Home economics	In each Region	Home economics assistants (5)		90
Additional Veterinary:				
University College	Ibadan	Pre-clinical		15
University in North	Zaria	Pre-clinical (6)		15
		Veterinary assistants		30
University of Nigeria	Nsukka	Pre-clinical and professional (7)		15





Institutions	Locations	Training	Approx.	
			Current Annual Output	Possible Future Output
To be established in the future:				
At a university		Professional forestry(8)		10
University in North	Zaria	Professional agricul-(9)		10
		tural engineers		
University of Nigeria	Nsukka	Professional agricul-(10)		10
		tural engineers		
At the three univer-		Home economics de- (11)		30
sities other than Lagos		gree		

- (1) Combined output. A move is on foot to remove all assistant training to Akure and train superintendents only at Moor Plantation.
- (2) This has been proposed by the Northern Regional Government, to serve the southern part of the Region.
- (3) Though Umudike may suffice for the present, another institution will be needed in a few years. The University of Nigeria with its broad agricultural programme might be given the responsibility.
- (4) To increase the output of agricultural assistants when the number from Akure is insufficient.
- (5) Growth of the extension programmes in the Regions will make the need imperative. Thirty from each Region is a modest prediction.
- (6) The North is already training veterinary personnel at a level below Vom. When agriculture is well established at a university in the North both pre-clinical and an upgraded veterinary assistants' course should be offered. Its need is much greater than the need in other Regions.
- (7) Certainly by the end of the twenty year plan period, if the University of Nigeria achieves its objectives and has strong faculties in agriculture and the science, it could consider the establishment of a second professional veterinary faculty in Nigeria.
- (8) This is likely to be justified before the end of the twenty year plan period.
- (9) This is a logical place, since professional engineering will be here. Perhaps in ten years' time it should be considered.
- (10) If professional engineering is well established during the first half of the twenty year plan period, agricultural engineering should probably be added during the second half.
- (11) This is inevitable. It is just a question of time until the necessary interest, funds, and qualified candidates are available.

Note:

1. None of the schools training agricultural assistants are as yet truly post-secondary schools, but figures indicate an increase in the numbers of School Certificate holders being admitted.
2. A small number of agricultural superintendents are being trained at Umudike.





## APPENDIX E

A NOTE ON EXAMINATIONS WHICH HAVE A BEARING ON POST-SECONDARY  
EDUCATION AND WHICH ARE CONDUCTED IN NIGERIA  
BY THE WEST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL  
(prepared for the Commission by Mr. J. Pare,  
Acting Deputy Registrar, West African  
Examination Council)<sup>1</sup>

### 1. THE WEST AFRICAN SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION

This is basically a school examination, entry being confined to candidates who are entered by the heads of schools which are recognised by the Council for this purpose, and is conducted by the University of Cambridge in collaboration with the West African Examinations Council. It is normally taken after a five-year course in a secondary school and is held annually in November. In order to obtain a certificate candidates must pass in at least six subjects including English Language, with credit in at least one of them, or pass in five subjects including English Language with credits in at least two of them. The subjects of the examination are divided into seven groups:

- I English Language, which is compulsory
- II General Subjects--i.e., English Literature, Bible Knowledge, Islamic Religious Knowledge, History, Geography
- III Languages, including African Languages
- IV Mathematical Subjects
- V Science Subjects
- VI Arts and Crafts
- VII Technical and Commercial Subjects

and normally candidates may not enter for more than eight subjects. The subjects taken must include English Language and subjects chosen from at

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<sup>1</sup>The Commission referred to is to the Ashby Commission.





least three of the other groups. The grades awarded in each subject are Fail, Pass Credit and Very Good. Certificates are classed as Division I, Division II or Division III. The holder of a certificate may enter in one or more additional subjects and if successful obtains a statement of result.

## 2. THE HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS SYNDICATE

The examination is confined to candidates who already hold a School Certificate and are entered by the head of a school recognised by the Council for the award of the West African School Certificate. It is normally taken two years after the School Certificate examination and is held annually in November. The examination is set, marked and awarded by the Local Examinations Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, but all arrangements for the conduct of the examination in Nigeria are made by the West African Examinations Council. The principal subjects of the examination are generally the same as those of the West African School Certificate. In certain subjects a special paper is set at the Subsidiary level and in others parts of the Principal subject may be offered as as Subsidiary subject. There is also a General Paper which is compulsory. A Principal subject is counted as two units and a Subsidiary subject one unit and candidates must offer the General Paper and subjects totalling six, seven or eight units including at least two Principal subjects. A certificate is awarded to candidates who pass in the General Paper, in one Principal subject and in further subjects which total at least three



units and reach a minimum aggregate which will normally be the aggregate for the General Paper, their two best Principal subjects and two other units. A candidate who enters a subject at the Principal level may be allowed to pass at the Subsidiary level. The General Paper demands the writing of two compositions, one from a choice of topics of a general or literary type, the other from a choice of topics dealing with current affairs, practical problems and applications of science or requiring an account of a meeting or discussion. A Distinction may be awarded in a Principal subjects; the only other grades are Pass and Fail.

### 3. THE GENERAL CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION EXAMINATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

The West African Examinations Council's relation to the University of London in respect of this examination is the same as its relation to the Local Examinations Syndicate of the University of Cambridge in respect of the Higher School Certificate examination, except that the Nigerian College of Arts, Science and Technology and the School of Arabic Studies, Kano, conduct the examination for their students under special arrangements with the University of London. In practice the examination is taken almost exclusively by "private" candidates--i.e., candidates who are not in attendance at recognised educational institutions but who pursue their studies privately, in many cases with the aid of correspondence courses. The examination is held annually in January. There is a wide range of subjects which includes all subjects taught in a secondary school and subjects may be taken either at the Advanced level or the Ordinary level. A pass





at the Advanced level and a pass at the Principal level in the Higher School Certificate in the same subject are recognised by all academic bodies of standing to be equivalent. A pass at the Ordinary level and a Credit in the West African School Certificate examination in the same subject are similarly recognised to be equivalent. Candidates who do not possess certain preliminary qualifications must before being allowed to enter the examination pass a Qualifying Test in English Language which is conducted by the West African Examinations Council each year in January. Such candidates and certain others who have a suitable qualification in English but who are not qualified to enter at the Advanced level may then enter in at least four subjects including English Language at the Ordinary level but may not enter in more than seven subjects. They may not enter in any subject at the Advanced level. Such candidates who pass in English Language and at least two other subjects or who though failing to pass attain a certain minimum standard in English Language and pass in at least three other subjects at the same examination are awarded a General Certificate of Education in the subjects in which they have passed.

Candidates who possess certain previous qualifications which in general are equivalent to a West African School Certificate may enter for one or more subjects at either level subject to maximum of seven subjects at the Ordinary level and five at the Advanced level and will receive a General Certificate of Education in respect of the subjects in which they pass. No candidate may enter in the same subject at both levels at the same time.





#### 4. THE EXAMINATION OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS

General.--The Royal Society of Arts has as its aims "the advancement, development and application of every department of Science in connection with the Arts, Manufactures and Commerce." The Society also exists as a potential agent for the inception of tasks of public service which do not fall very definitely within the scope of any more specialised body. Its function in such cases, however, is purely that of a pioneer, and its policy has always been in due course to hand over schemes requiring permanent superintendence to some other appropriate institution. The West African Examinations Council conducts examinations for the Society's Ordinary (Single Subject) Certificate (Commercial) and Senior School Commercial Certificate in Nigeria; the examinations are set, marked and awarded by the Society. No previous qualifications are required from candidates for these examinations.

Ordinary (Single Subject) Certificates.--The subjects of the examination are in general those in which a candidate who is aiming at a career in commerce would be interested, including Law and Modern Languages. Examinations are held in Stage I (Elementary), Stage II (Intermediate), Stage III (Advanced) and in Shorthand at various speeds. Candidates may enter for single subjects in any or all stages and may even take the same subject at all stages at the same examination. Certificates are awarded in the subjects in which the candidate passes. Candidates may also obtain various Group Certificates in Commercial Subjects by passing in certain subjects at any four consecutive series of examinations in the cases of Stages III and II and within three consecutive years in the case of Stage I.



School Certificate (Commercial).--This certificate is awarded to candidates who pass at one examination in English Language, plus at least three subjects selected from Accounts, Arithmetic, Commerce, Shorthand and Typewriting, plus at least one subject of a more general cultural nature.

The Senior School Commercial Certificate.--This certificate is awarded to candidates who pass at one examination in English Language, plus at least three subjects selected from Accounts, Arithmetic, Commerce, Shorthand and Typewriting and at least one subject of a more general cultural nature. The standard of the papers in this examination is higher than that of the papers in the School Certificate (Commercial).

The School Certificate (Commercial) and the Senior School Commercial Certificate examinations are open to candidates who are in full-time attendance at schools recognised by the Regional Ministries of Education.

## 5. THE EXAMINATIONS OF THE CITY AND GUILDS OF LONDON INSTITUTE

The examinations of the City and Guilds of London Institute are primarily intended for candidates undergoing a course of study in one of the various Technological Institutions in the United Kingdom.

In Nigeria, however, two categories of candidates are admitted to the examinations:

- (a) External candidates, most of whom offer subjects in which there are no practical examinations, e.g., Telecommunication Engineering, Electrical Engineering, etc.





(b) Internal candidates who are students in the Government Technical Institutes and Trade Centres. A majority of them offer subjects involving practical examinations, e.g., Painter's and Decorator's Work, Bricklaying, Machine Shop Engineering, Carpentry and Joinery, and Cabinet Making.

In almost all the subjects, examinations are held for the Intermediate and Final Certificates.

Candidates for the Intermediate Certificate in subjects which involve practical examinations are required to have completed at least three years in a recognised Trade Centre. Candidates for the Final examination must have completed five years in a recognised Trade Centre and have at least two years' experience in industry.

There are at present eight centres for these examinations in Nigeria, but facilities for practical examinations are available at four centres only.











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